The Nation.

HAMAS WINS IN PALESTINE
Graham Usher

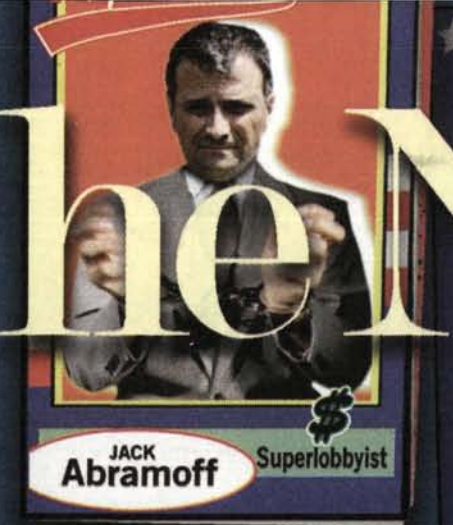
NSA SPYING MYTHS
David Cole

SEX LIES VS. WAR LIES
Eric Alterman

HEIDEGGER MADE KOSHER
Richard Wolin

THE RACE TO WAR
David Levering Lewis

FEB. 20, 2006
www.thenation.com



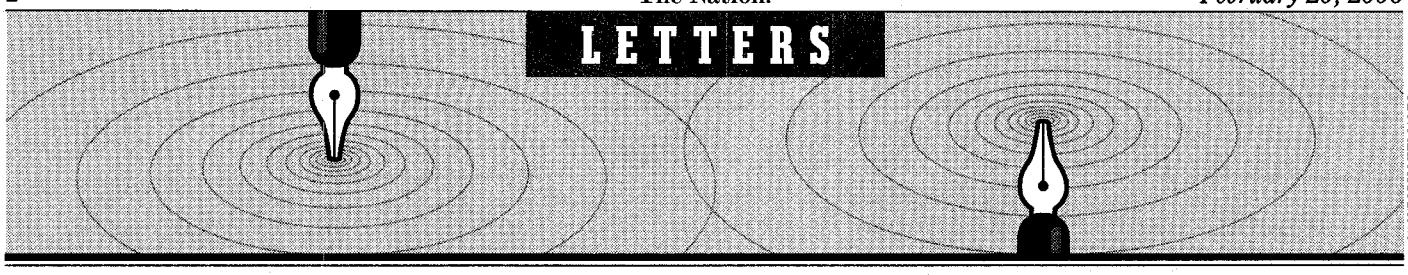
The GOP Scandals
Collect them all!

JEREMY SCAHILL
MAX BLUMENTHAL
ARI BERMAN

#BXNKBXM **********AUTO** 5-DIGIT 94301
#UNZ0555B096 1#302604 TW
FEB 05 07
RON K UNZ USPA
555 BRYANT ST 371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704 P0020

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS



CRISTOPH NIEMANN

FRA ANGELICO: NOT A BASEBALL

New York City

■ In the rush to get my review of Fra Angelico out before the show closed, an embarrassing error crept in ["Soul Eyes," Feb. 6]. During the editing process, the expression "autograph work" was replaced with "autographed work." In the vocabulary of connoisseurship, an autograph work is one from the artist's hand—an original. All the works in the show were autograph, presumably. No one would speak of a signed work as "autographed," as if it were a baseball. In any case, Fra Angelico did not sign his work, though there is a signature on the bridle of a horse in the early *Christ of the Cross* that may be his. If you find a Renaissance panel signed "Fra Angelico," it has to be a fake. He did not acquire that name until after his death, as a way of putting him on the same level as his fellow Dominican Thomas Aquinas, "The Angelic Doctor." ARTHUR C. DANTO

FLAME OUT

San Francisco

■ We believe the editors of *The Nation* are quite justified in publishing an explanation as to why they run our (FLAME's) messages in their publication ["In Fact...," Jan. 23]. But we don't believe it is correct to describe us as an anti-Palestinian group. We are not that. We are "Israel advocatory" and are distressed that despite the many attempts made over the decades it has been so far impossible for Israel to come to peace terms with the Palestinians. The only agreement they seem to be willing to enter would be one that would involve the disappearance of the state of Israel. Also, we must reject being classified as "mendacious." And, of course, we deplore that our views are "repugnant" to *Nation* editors.

What is a source of never-ending puzzlement to us is why "liberals," such as the readers of *The Nation*, seem to feel so hostile toward the state of Israel, the only democratic state, mirroring American values, in the Middle East and a steadfast friend of our country. The Muslims/Arabs, including the Palestinians, on the other hand, seem to violate personally and in their governance everything that we hold dear. Conservatives, prominently including evangelical Christians, are staunch supporters of the Jewish state. It's really difficult to understand.

We publish our *hasbarah* (educating and clarifying) messages monthly in more than a dozen major magazines, in about the same number of metropolitan newspapers and in small newspapers all across the country. The response we get is overwhelmingly supportive and positive. We are glad to be able to publish our messages in *The Nation* and hope that we shall, in time, be able to persuade at least some readers of the righteousness of Israel's cause.

GERARDO JOFFE
President, FLAME

Washington, DC

■ As president of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), the largest grassroots civil rights organization for Arab Americans, I thank you for your candid editorial, which openly denounces the misleading and factually incorrect FLAME advertisement. However, crucially omitted from the editorial is the clear discrepancy between your advertising policy and the FLAME ad.

While ADC strongly respects the advertiser's First Amendment rights (ADC is, after all, a civil rights organization), *The Nation* also has a responsibility to its readers not to print advertisements that are bigoted and may contribute to the problem of prejudice toward any ethnic group or minority, including Palestinians.

Especially troubling is that *The Nation* published the FLAME ad despite its policy to bar "false, lurid or patently fraudulent, illegal or libelous" advertisements. FLAME claims that "Palestinians are a fundamental myth," and that "Palestinian Arabs were in Berlin hatching plans with Adolf Hitler for world conquest and how to kill all the Jews," which is not only false but a blatant lie. Ads and rhetoric like this condition people to resent and be frightened of Palestinians and to believe that there can be no peaceful solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

ADC also understands the need for a magazine to generate income. But this so-called "advertisement" is not only prejudiced and intolerant; it also does a great disservice to all people working to bring about a just and lasting peace. HON. MARY ROSE OAKAR
President, ADC

Thetford Center, Vt.

■ Though I am a supporter of the ADC and have followed its suggestions for actions in the past, I disagree with their current "action alert" with regard to the FLAME ad that ran in *The Nation*. I support *The Nation*'s free-speech advertising policy. My support for your policy continues despite my diametric opposition to the politics espoused by FLAME and its ilk. JONATHAN TELLER-ELSBERG

Brooklyn, NY

■ I commend you for publishing that FLAME ad. I'm sure you were well aware of the negative letters you would receive. There are petitions on the Internet to hold *The Nation* "to account," but despite these attempts to curb free speech you refused to pull the ad. That took courage. It's good to know that there are still democratic leftists in the United States who will not waver in the face of totalitarianism. EVAN M. DANIEL

■ I am Muslim by religion and Indian by citizenship. I want to convey my strong displeasure at that utterly racist "advertisement" about Palestinians. My heart trembled when they were called "a myth." It seems that the people involved in financing and printing this have lost their conscience. I never expected this from you. MOHAMMED ASHFAQUE, MD

Los Angeles

■ *The Nation* has always been one of the few progressive voices in the United States, a magazine that I looked forward to reading for a breath of fresh air and a glimpse of the truth. Alas, you have been corrupted by running a terrible ad from FLAME, an organization that denies the existence of Palestinians.

Believe me, my Palestinian-American children are pretty surprised that they don't exist. Their father, a 1948 refugee who fled the Israeli war machine and certain death had he stayed, is also quite shocked to realize your magazine would take money from FLAME.

So, does your weak response that you run even ads that are repugnant mean we can run an ad that denies the Holocaust? How about running a white supremacist ad? You seem to have forgotten what your mission is, or perhaps you've simply sold out. GRETA BERLIN
Volunteer, International Solidarity Movement

New York City

■ We were considering placing a large ad in *The Nation* dealing with myths about Jews, i.e., their Arabophobia. To insure that our message about Jewish bigotry has the desired associations, the copy will begin with a quote from Goebbels like this:

"Jewish Fables: How the Jews soften up world opinion with fanciful myths. Josef Goebbels, the infamous propaganda minister of the Nazis, had it right. Just tell people big lies often enough and they will believe them. The Jews have learned that lesson well. They have swayed world opinion by endlessly repeating myths and lies that have no basis in fact. What are some of these myths? The 'Israelis'—that is the fundamental myth. In reality the concept of 'Israelis' is one that did not exist until 1948, when the UN, influenced by Jewish global capital, allowed the Jewish colonists..."

You get the drift. We are sure your respect for freedom of speech will not interfere with this ad, even if you disagree with the content.

MIRIAM M. REIK

(Continued on Page 22)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRINTED FEBRUARY 1 VOLUME 282, NUMBER 7

IN THIS ISSUE

2 **LETTERS**

EDITORIALS & COMMENT

3 EMPIRE VS. REPUBLIC

4 THE HAMAS TRIUMPH
Graham Usher

5 TAKING LIBERTIES
NSA Spying Myths
David Cole

7 A WARNING BELL
William Greider

7 CORETTA SCOTT KING

8 COMIX NATION
The Leap Forward
Marshall Arisman

COLUMNS

6 DEADLINE POET
A Three-Step Program...
Calvin Trillin

9 DIARY OF A MAD LAW PROFESSOR
All the King's Horses...
Patricia J. Williams

10 THE LIBERAL MEDIA
Lies About Blowjobs, Bad. Wars? Not So Much.
Eric Alterman

ARTICLES

13 EXILE ON K STREET
Scandals abound in the smoking remains of the Alexander Strategy Group.
Jeremy Scahill

16 ABRAMOFF'S EVANGELICAL SOLDIERS
Christian-right luminaries took part in a sordid GOP–gambling industry scheme.
Max Blumenthal

19 CAN JUSTICE BE TRUSTED?
Why did the Justice Department block a US Attorney hot on Jack's trail in 2002?
Ari Berman

20 THE JFK LAWYERS' CONSPIRACY
After forty-two years assassination buffs continue to attack the Warren Report.
Max Holland

BOOKS & THE ARTS

23 KLEINBERG: Generation Existential: Heidegger's Philosophy in France, 1927–1961
MOYN: Origins of the Other: Emmanuel Levinas Between Revelation and Ethics
Richard Wolin

30 SLOTKIN: Lost Battalions: The Great War and the Crisis of American Nationality
David Levering Lewis

34 BARNES: Arthur & George
Terry Eagleton

Cover by Gene Case & Stephen Kling/ Avenging Angels; illustrations by Christoph Niemann and Caitlin Dover

EDITORIALS

Empire vs. Republic

We must "stand behind the American military," George W. Bush declared in his dispirited State of the Union address. And so he did, wrapping himself in their courage and sacrifice to cover his follies and fantasies. The speech was a far remove from reality, but how could it be otherwise? Bush's catastrophic policies have laid waste the nation. Even a glancing proximity to truth would have been a telling self-indictment.

Bush said "we are winning" in Iraq with a "plan for victory." In fact, the Administration's corrupt and incompetent reconstruction plan has run out of money, and the Army has been stretched to the breaking point. Bush warned of an Iran "held hostage by a small clerical elite" but didn't bother to mention its mutual defense pact with the Shiite leaders who will dominate Iraq. Bush's trillion-dollar war of choice has strengthened that "axis" and is the gift that keeps on giving—to Islamic extremists.

The President lauded our democratic values; indeed, he's so determined to export them to the Middle East that the domestic supply seems to be depleted. In the same chamber where Bush paid tribute to civil rights leader Coretta Scott King, antiwar activist Cindy Sheehan, who lost her son in Iraq, was tossed out simply for wearing a T-shirt that showed the number of dead American soldiers. Bush said our "economy is healthy" and that tax cuts have generated millions of jobs. In fact, he has the worst jobs record of any Administration since the Depression, and his tax cuts have created staggering deficits but not jobs.

Bush's aides thought it wise for him to look more in touch with a worried population, so he addressed kitchen-table issues like healthcare, education and gas prices. But here, fatigue suppressed imagination. In a country with 45 million uninsured, Bush thinks we have too much insurance, so he offered to privatize healthcare, just as he sought to do with Social Security. That won't help the sick, the uninsured, those struggling with soaring costs. Education was presented as the answer to the loss of good jobs with benefits. More math and science teachers are a good thing, but Bush couldn't mention that he hasn't funded his own programs and is cutting education spending.

The President from Big Oil discovered that we are addicted to oil, but he remains in denial about global warming. Instead of committing to a bold strategy to wean America from dependence on foreign oil, like that of the Apollo Alliance, Bush offered a few scant programs. Exxon announced the highest profits on record, but Bush didn't call for rolling back the billions in subsidies his party lavished on oil companies last year.

Bush made it clear what his party's strategy will be for the fall. The GOP will run the empire against the Republic. The President lied us into Iraq, but hindsight is not a policy, he says—you must choose either duty and victory or retreat and "defeatism." He tramples the law to spy on Americans? Choose between an imperial President and a vulnerable country. This may be the only hand the Republicans can play: Hide behind the troops and paint Democrats as weak. In fact, the Democrats offered a comprehensive response—not the official one of Virginia Governor Timothy Kaine but that of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, at an event hosted by *The Nation* and the Institute for Policy Studies. The CPC's strategy includes a rapid withdrawal from Iraq, universal healthcare coverage, public financing of political campaigns and a shift from fossil fuels to renewable energy. This country needs such a thoroughgoing program to recover from the damage wrought by this imperial President.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

The Nation.

EDITOR & PUBLISHER: Katrina vanden Heuvel

PRESIDENT: Teresa Stack

MANAGING EDITOR: Karen Rothmyer (*on leave*)
LITERARY EDITOR: Adam Shatz
EXECUTIVE EDITOR: Betsy Reed
SENIOR EDITORS: Richard Lingeman, Bob Moser (*interim*), Roane Carey (*acting managing editor*)
WEB EDITOR: Joan Connell
COPY EDITOR: Judith Long
ASSISTANT COPY EDITOR: Mark Sorkin
COPY ASSOCIATE: Lisa Vandepaer
ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR: Peggy Suttle
ASSISTANT LITERARY EDITOR: Christine Smallwood
INTERNS: Simon Maxwell Apter, Rachel Corbett, Cora Currier (*Washington*), Bryan Farrell, Adam Federman, Garrett Ordower, Dean Powers, Eric Stoner, Anja Tranovich

WASHINGTON, DC: EDITOR: David Corn; CORRESPONDENT: John Nichols

NATIONAL AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT: William Greider

COLUMNISTS: Eric Alterman, Alexander Cockburn, Naomi Klein, Katha Pollitt, Patricia J. Williams (*on leave*), Gary Younge

DEPARTMENTS: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Books*, Lee Siegel; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Environment*, Mark Hertsgaard; *Films*, Stuart Klawans; *Legal Affairs*, David Cole; *Peace and Disarmament*, Jonathan Schell; *Poetry*, Grace Schulman; *United Nations*, Ian Williams; *Deadline Poet*, Calvin Trillin

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Kai Bird, George Black, Robert L. Borosage, Stephen F. Cohen, Marc Cooper, Mike Davis, Slavenka Drakulić, Robert Dreyfuss, Susan Faludi, Liza Featherstone, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Molly Ivins, John Leonard, Michael Moore, Richard Pollak, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Robert Scheer, Herman Schwartz, Ted Solotaroff, Edward Sorel, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener, Amy Wilentz, Art Winslow

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS: Eyal Press, Scott Sherman, Ari Berman (*Washington*)

BUREAUS: *Budapest*, Miklós Vámos; *London*, Maria Margaronis and D.D. Guttenplan; *Southern Africa*, Mark Gevisser

EDITORIAL BOARD: Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Eric Foner, Philip Green, Lani Guinier, Tom Hayden, Randall Kennedy, Tony Kushner, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Victor Navasky, Richard Parker, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, David Weir, Roger Wilkins

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, SPECIAL PROJECTS/WEBSITE: Peter Rothberg
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, DEVELOPMENT/ASSOCIATES: Peggy Randall
VICE PRESIDENT, ADVERTISING: Ellen Bollinger
ADVERTISING MANAGER, SMALL DISPLAY, EVENTS, CLASSIFIED: Leigh Novog
VICE PRESIDENT, CIRCULATION: Arthur Stupar
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Michelle O'Keefe
CIRCULATION FULFILLMENT MANAGER: Miriam Camp
PRODUCTION DIRECTOR: Omar Rubio
TYPOGRAPHER/WEB PRODUCER: Sandy McCroskey
PRODUCTION MANAGER: Timothy Don
NATION ASSOCIATES MANAGER: Peter Fifield
PUBLICITY/SYNDICATION DIRECTOR: Mike Webb
EDUCATION/COMMUNICATIONS COORDINATOR: Habiba Alcindor
VICE PRESIDENT, WEB SITE AND TECHNOLOGY: Scott Klein
TECHNOLOGY COORDINATOR: Amiri K. Barksdale
CONTROLLER: Mary van Valkenburg
ASSISTANT TO VICTOR NAVASKY: Mary Taylor Schilling
DATA ENTRY/MAIL COORDINATOR: John Holtz
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT: Kathleen Thomas
BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Jolange Wright
RECEPTIONIST/BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Larri Washington

PUBLISHER EMERITUS: Victor Navasky

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: E-mail to letters@thenation.com (300-word limit). Letters are subject to editing for reasons of space and clarity.
SUBMISSIONS: Queries only, no manuscripts. Go to www.thenation.com and click on "about," then "submissions" for a query form. Queries may be mailed to The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. SASE for poems.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the second week in January, and biweekly the third week of July through the second week of September) by The Nation Company, L.P. © 2006 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, L.P., 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. (212) 209-5400. Washington Bureau: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149, or call 1-800-333-8536. Publications Mail Agreement No: 40041477. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to Circulation Dept. or DPGM, 4960-2 Walker Road, Windsor, ON N9A 6J3. **When ordering a subscription, please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $4 prepaid ($6 foreign) from: The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Member, Audit Bureau of Circulations. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149. Printed in U.S.A. on recycled paper.

INTERNET: Selections from the current issue become available Thursday night at www.thenation.com.

The Hamas Triumph

Gaza

On Gaza's Omar El-Mukhtar Street a Palestinian boy lobs rocks at an election banner posting Gaza City's five victorious Hamas candidates. Down the road thousands of activists from Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas's Fatah movement storm Gaza's parliamentary building, venting their rage at an institution and a leadership they hold responsible for an abject defeat. The violent implosion of Fatah is one consequence of Hamas's triumph in the Palestinian Authority (PA) parliamentary elections on January 25. There are many others.

One week before the poll a Hamas leader told me "fifty-five seats for us would be an achievement." Hamas won seventy-six seats (seventy-eight if Hamas-backed independents are included) against Fatah's forty-three in the 132-member chamber, a rout compounded by the fact that seventy-four independent Fatah members stood against their movement's official list. Hamas was united behind one list.

Three factors contributed to Hamas's victory: Palestinian disillusionment that peace or a return to meaningful negotiations with Israel were anywhere on the horizon; appreciation for Hamas's record of clean and selfless service providing as well as its role in the armed resistance, widely seen as the cause of Israel's withdrawal from Gaza this past summer; and, above all, profound antipathy generated by a decade of Fatah's misrule of the PA, capped by the PA's failure to bring political progress, economic recovery, law or order in the aftermath of the Gaza withdrawal.

What does Hamas do with "an election win that is bigger than its capabilities?" asks Gaza-based Palestinian analyst Nasser Aliwar. Its first moves suggested a desire to shed at least some of the responsibility. Hamas leaders have called for a "national coalition" government consisting of "all Palestinian forces," especially Fatah. But Fatah is opposed, violently so.

Fatah's protests in Gaza are widely seen as the work of former PA security chief Muhammad Dahlan. They are not only a challenge to the Fatah leadership. Above all, they are a warning to Hamas not to tamper with Fatah's control of the PA, especially its security personnel, most of whom voted for Fatah. "Hamas is a general without an army," says Abdel Hakim Awad, president of Fatah's Shabiba youth movement in Gaza. "Hamas can establish a government, with Hamas ministers, but the PA has 70,000 men in the security services. These will not be subordinate to a Hamas interior minister." Abbas has tried to defuse this threat by reiterating that all PA security forces will remain under his control. But the specter of an armed power struggle between the newly elected PA government and the party that, in Dahlan's phrase, is "the first and only movement of the Authority" is the worst thing imaginable for ordinary Palestinians.

It could happen. The PA is near bankruptcy and may not be able to pay salaries, including those of the security forces. Should the money run out, the conditions could be created for a Fatah-engineered coup. Is this a scenario Israel and its allies seek? There are reasons to fear it might be. Israel has said it will not transfer value-added tax and other custom duties to the PA, a vital source of revenue. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice has said there

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

will be no US aid to a Hamas government, though she has not ruled out humanitarian relief on a "case by case" basis. The current stance of the European Union—the biggest PA donor—is to continue to provide funding until Hamas forms a government, with the heavy implication that it would prefer technocratic and/or Fatah ministers to Islamist ones.

The purpose behind this economic pincer is to make Hamas submit to Israel's terms for engagement. These are three, says acting Prime Minister Ehud Olmert: A Hamas-led PA must disarm its military wing and those of the other factions; amend its founding charter calling for the "obliteration" of Israel; and recognize all agreements between Israel and the PA. The idea that Hamas will agree to these conditions is "imaginary," says Ziad Abu Amr, a Hamas-backed independent candidate who is widely tipped to become a minister in the new government. "Hamas has already said that it recognizes the de facto reality of the Oslo agreements and clarified that it is prepared to continue its cease-fire with Israel," he said. "But it is not going to make political concessions, at least not until Israel commits itself to ending the occupation."

The prospect of economic sanction, Fatah-inspired disorder and external political pressure is fraught with risk. One consequence could be the PA's institutional collapse, with the vacuum filled by violence, both intra-Palestinian and Israeli-Palestinian. Some in Israel's political and military establishment would not be averse to the PA's violent demise. But throughout the region and internationally, it could only be seen as a total failure of US policy, especially after the pressure Washington exerted on Israel and the PA to hold the elections. Nor would the EU be indifferent. Whatever misgivings it has about the new PA government, Brussels still sees the continued existence of the PA as the condition for a return to negotiations and the basis of a future Palestinian state.

A second outcome could be containment, or what some have termed "coordinated unilateralism," in which Israel and Hamas would eschew "strategic" issues regarding diplomatic negotiations and recognition in favor of practical arrangements over aid, service and violence. Hamas would run the PA while Israel would unilaterally build its eastern borders, most of them deep in the heart of the occupied West Bank. But as a long-term solution this too is imaginary, and one suicide bomb could wreck it. "And I'd like to see Hamas arrest those who carried it out," says Awad.

An alternative future is the least likely but is palpably there if one understands the true significance of the elections. Palestinians did not vote for political Islam or the destruction of Israel. A poll by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research shows that while Fatah and the secular parties gained a minority of seats, they won the majority of the popular vote (55 percent). That survey reveals that 75 percent of Palestinians support reconciliation with Israel based on a genuine two-state solution, including 60 percent of those who voted for Hamas. What Palestinians voted against was not peace but PA maladministration and a political process that has consistently suborned their right of self-determination to Israel's security and colonial ambitions in the occupied territories. "Hamas presented an alternative to Oslo," says Ghazi Hamad, a Hamas candidate. "We said negotiations alone are not enough to achieve our rights. What is needed is a new Palestinian strategy, with a genuine national consensus over aims and a proper balance between political and military struggle."

What if the West responded to Hamas's victory not with sanctions but a commitment to resume negotiations from the point where they were left at the start of the intifada in 2000? The answer of one Hamas man would surprise many. "I think Hamas would have to respond positively," says Atif Adwan, a newly elected Hamas member for northern Gaza. "We are aware that both peoples want a fair solution. But we would want to see real Israeli gestures to strengthen negotiations, like the release of prisoners, the lifting of checkpoints and the easing of our lives."

One of the supreme ironies of the PA elections is that the Palestinians have never been more unified, or moderate, in their view of what constitutes a fair solution to the conflict. Nor could any peace agreement command greater legitimacy than one signed by a democratically elected Palestinian government that is also a constituent member of the regional Muslim Brotherhood. For such a peace Hamas would have to recognize an Israel confined to its 1967 borders. But Israel would also have to withdraw to those borders, including from Palestinian East Jerusalem.

Everything about the Israeli, the US and the EU response to the PA elections suggests that such an initiative is the last road that will be taken. Everything about Hamas's victory—and the enormous Palestinian frustration that caused it to happen—suggests there is no longer any other road. GRAHAM USHER

Graham Usher has written extensively on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

NSA Spying Myths

"When the President does it, that means that it is not illegal." So Richard Nixon infamously defended his approval of a plan to engage in warrantless wiretapping of Americans involved in the antiwar movement in the 1970s. For thirty years Nixon's defense has stood as the apogee of presidential arrogance. But of course Nixon was proved wrong. The wiretapping plan was shelved when J. Edgar Hoover, of all people, objected to it. Nixon's approval of it was listed in the articles of impeachment. Nixon learned the hard way that Presidents are not above the law.

George W. Bush appears not to have learned the lesson. His defense of the National Security Agency's warrantless wiretapping of Americans resurrects the Nixon doctrine, with one modification. For Bush, "when the Commander in Chief does it, it is not illegal." In a memo to Congress, the Administration argued that the Commander in Chief may not be restricted in the "means and methods of engaging the enemy," and that Bush is thus free to wiretap Americans without court approval in the "war on terror" even if Congress has made it a crime. This assertion of uncheckable executive power is just one of five myths the Administration has propagated in a PR blitz designed to convince the public of a transparently unconvincing argument. As Congress readies for hearings on the subject, here's a primer on the spying debate.

Myth 1: Following existing law would require the NSA to turn off a wiretap of an Al Qaeda member calling in to the United States.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

CALVIN TRILLIN

I Dreamt That George W. Bush Adopted James Frey's 3-Step Program—Denial, Larry King and Oprah—To Get to the Truth About the War in Iraq

Step One:
At first, when people said he'd lied,
He, bristling visibly, denied
A lie or even a mistake
In anything he did to take
This country into a debacle
That, like a nasty streptococcal
Disease, seems endless and resists
The many cures that he insists
Will someday get us unensnared,
While in his speeches he declared
That people saying he misled
Just helps the folks who want us dead.

Step Two:
This Larry King's a friendly sort,
Who won't object if guests distort
The truth a bit, so pols all like
To make announcements at his mike.
Though Presidents don't usually come,
I see Bush there, admitting some
Of what he said was slightly wrong.
And Bush has brought his mom along.
She smiles. He's sounding slightly whiny
While claiming falsehoods all were tiny—
Just unimportant details. And he
Says otherwise the war's just dandy.

Step Three:
Our Oprah, stern-faced, draws applause
With questions while he hems and haws.
She clears the mist that still enshrouds
His yellowcake and mushroom clouds.
She asks why, in the name of heaven,
He tied Iraq to 9/11.
Bush stares at her—a hollow stare.
He's all alone. His mom's not there.
He then admits, with eyes quite full,
His tales have been all cock and bull.
And Oprah says, "Well, fine. That's great.
For thousands, though, it comes too late."

Variations on this theme appear every time the Administration defends the NSA spying program. The suggestion is that the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) would interfere with the President's ability to monitor Al Qaeda members' calls when it's most important to do so. There's only one problem: FISA would *not* require the tap to be turned off. First, FISA does not apply at all to wiretaps targeted at foreign nationals abroad. Its restrictions are triggered only when the surveillance is targeted at a citizen or permanent resident of the United States, or when the surveillance is obtained from a wiretap physically located within the United States. If the NSA is listening in on an Al Qaeda member's phone in Pakistan, nothing in FISA requires it to stop listening if that person calls someone in the United States. Second, even when FISA is triggered, it does not require the wiretap to be turned off but merely to be approved by a judge, based on a showing of probable cause that the target is a member of a terrorist organization. Such judicial approval may be obtained after the wiretap is put in place, so long as it is approved within seventy-two hours.

Myth 2: Congress approved the NSA spying program when it authorized military force against Al Qaeda.

This argument cannot be squared with existing law, which provides that even when Congress declares war—a much more formal and grave step than an authorization to use force—the President has only fifteen days to conduct warrantless surveillance. The Al Qaeda authorization says not one word about wiretapping Americans. In addition, when asked why the Administration did not seek to amend FISA to permit this program, the Attorney General explained that he consulted with several members of Congress but that they told him it would be "difficult, if not impossible," to obtain permission. You can't argue that you didn't ask because Congress would have said no, but that without asking, and without Congress saying so, it actually said yes.

Myth 3: Bush informed Congress of the NSA program.

"If I wanted to break the law, why was I briefing Congress?" Bush asked in a speech on the spying issue. His Administration claims that it informed isolated members of Congress twelve times, but there is no evidence that it told those members either that it believed its actions were authorized by the use-of-force resolution or that it was asserting executive power to violate criminal law. In addition, the briefings were classified, and members were prohibited from repeating to other members anything that was said there. So the answer to Bush's question is that he may have "informed Congress" precisely to provide cover in case his secret lawbreaking ever became public, but he did so in a manner that insured Congress could not take action against him.

Myth 4: The courts have upheld inherent presidential power to conduct warrantless wiretapping for foreign intelligence purposes.

Bush's defenders claim that every court to address the subject has said the President has inherent authority to conduct warrantless wiretapping for foreign intelligence-gathering purposes. What they do not say is that those courts were addressing presidential authority *before* Congress regulated such activity by enacting FISA in 1978. The fact that Presidents may have "inherent" authority to take action in the absence of contrary Congressional intent does not mean they have uncheckable authority to do so once Congress has prohibited the conduct. That argument would

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

mean FISA is unconstitutional, and no court has so ruled.

Myth 5: The President as Commander in Chief cannot be regulated by Congress.

The Administration's ultimate defense is that even if Bush broke the law, his constitutional authority as Commander in Chief permits him to do so at his discretion. According to the Justice Department, Congress cannot limit his choice of how to "engage the enemy." This rationale is not limited to wiretapping. On the same theory, Justice argued in 2002 that he could order torture despite a criminal statute to the contrary. It is that theory that Bush was presumably invoking when, in signing the amendment barring "cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment" of terrorism suspects, he said he would interpret it "in a manner consistent with the constitutional authority of the President to supervise the unitary executive branch and as Commander in Chief."

Bush tried this theory out on the Supreme Court in the Guantánamo cases, when he argued that it would be an unconstitutional intrusion on his Commander in Chief powers to extend habeas corpus review to Guantánamo detainees. Not a single Justice on the Court accepted that radical proposition. But that hasn't stopped Bush from asserting it again. After all, when you get to say what the law is, what's a contrary Supreme Court precedent or two? DAVID COLE

David Cole, The Nation*'s legal affairs correspondent, is the author of* Enemy Aliens *(2005).*

A Warning Bell

The President was already floundering in deep water, so the latest economic news may feel like another huge stone has been tied to his ankle. In the final quarter of 2005 the national economy abruptly capsized. The gross domestic product grew by only 1.1 percent, down from 4.1 percent during the previous three months. George W. Bush's happy talk about a "strong economy" has been exposed as fraudulent. For nervous Republicans, the portents for the 2006 elections are ugly.

This sudden swoon may represent the long-feared moment when debt-soaked consumers finally tap out, no longer able to borrow or buy enough to keep the economy going. If so, that development is truly ominous, especially for millions of struggling families. We can't know for several months. Stock-market cheerleaders dismiss the slowdown as a quirk and predict the economy will bounce right back. Other forecasters are not so sanguine. At a minimum they expect slower growth to linger during the next six months—when voters are making up their minds.

Everything, it seems, is declining except for household debt and the trade deficit. The convergence of bad indicators suggests that Bush's right-wing economic agenda may finally have come back to bite him. Four years ago he defended his tax cuts as much-needed stimulus for the economy—never mind that the money went overwhelmingly to the top wealth holders and businesses. Bush's bastardized version of Keynesian stimulus—reward the affluent, forget the toilers down below—did work for a time. At least his swelling budget deficits led to a halting, lopsided recovery.

It turns out that the rich cannot sustain things all by themselves, not when working people are losing ground—incomes stagnant or falling, family indebtedness reaching scary new heights. American households experienced negative savings last year—they spent $42 billion more than they earned—for the first time since 1933, the depths of the Great Depression. The Federal Reserve added injury when it decided to raise interest rates, intending to lance the housing bubble. Housing inflation was the only thing propping up ordinary consumers as wages stagnated. So people borrowed—imprudently, in many cases—against their homes and spent the money on everyday consumption. That game is now ending or already over. Orthodox economists assumed business investment would replace consumer spending as the workhorse driving economic growth. But business investment declined sharply too. Why invest profits in developing new production when consumers are running out of gas?

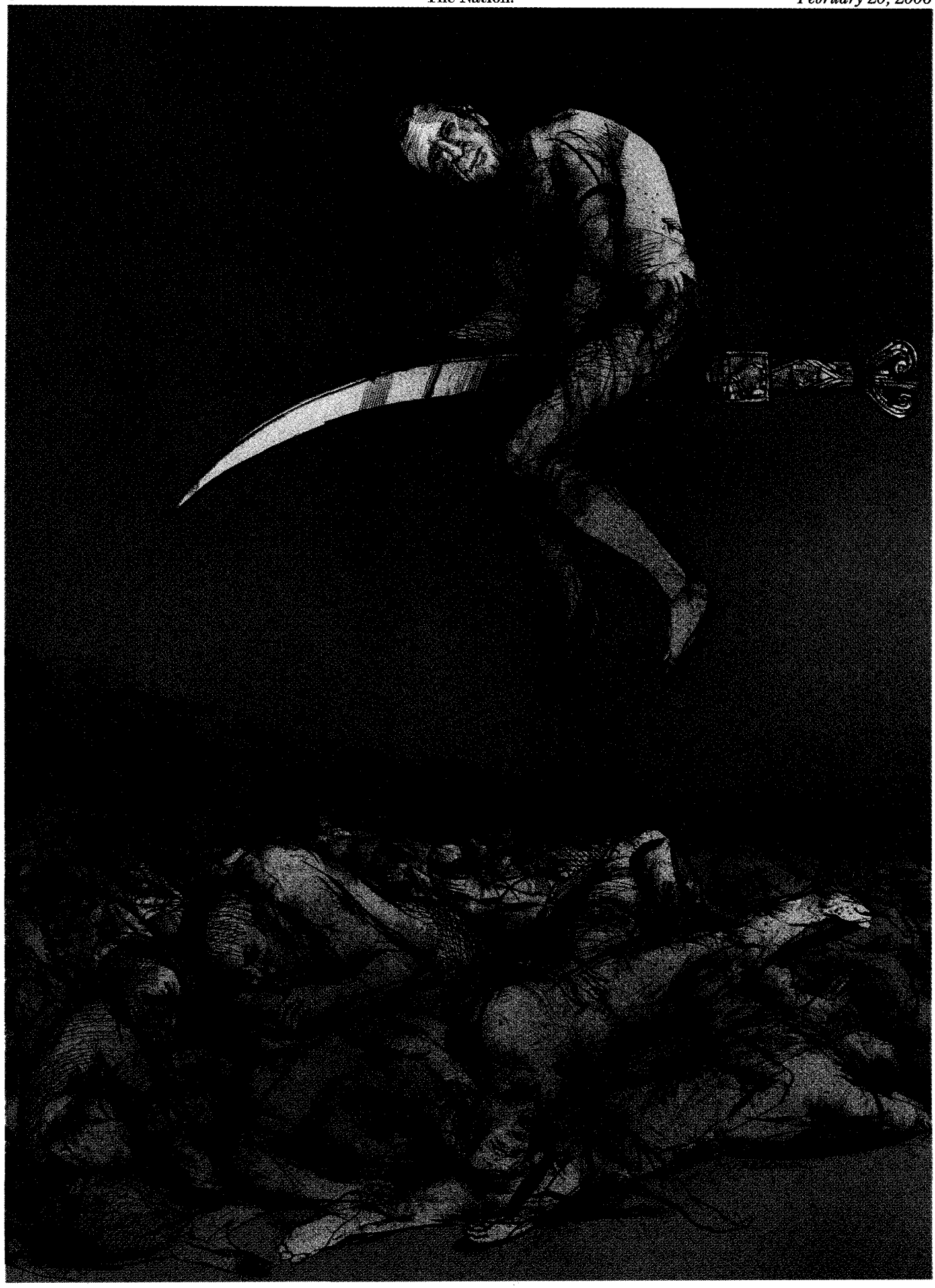
For Democrats, the predicament is a serious opportunity, if they will stop obsessing over Bush's deficits and begin thinking again like economic liberals (not likely, I grant). Reducing the deficit at this point will insure a nasty recession, especially if the Fed doesn't quickly reverse itself and start cutting interest rates. Democrats should instead promise to engineer a grand swap: If restored to majority power, they will repeal Bush's reactionary tax cuts and devote the billions to immediate pump-priming—public-works employment and tax relief for struggling families. A Louisiana recovery corporation would be one place to start. Quick tax cuts for the middle and bottom brackets would help too. That shift won't solve deeper problems like deindustrialization and the trade deficit, but it might keep the country out of the ditch and provide breathing space to confront other weaknesses.

Of course, neither Bush nor his cadres would touch such a proposition. Why should they? Right now, they are working over a handful of wobbly Democratic senators to get the votes needed to renew those wrongheaded tax cuts. But Democrats have a splendid opening to be substantive and political and righteous for working folks, all at once. Let the Bushies play their terror siren. Let Democrats talk about the wolf that is much closer to people's door. The appropriate agenda for this season is creating jobs, restoring incomes and rescuing indebted families. A long, long time ago, that was how Democrats won elections. WILLIAM GREIDER

CORETTA SCOTT KING

The widows of great men either gracefully retire from history's stage or take their own lonely road. Coretta Scott King had little hesitancy about carrying on her husband's work. As she said in 1956, "All along I have supported my husband in this cause...whatever happens to him, it happens to me." Just four days after his assassination, in 1968, she marched with the garbage workers he had championed and began work on the Poor People's Campaign. She continued to walk in his steps, but eventually she found her own cadence. She was active in the Nuclear Freeze movement and preached nonviolence. She went on to support gay rights and AIDS victims. She was, as SCLC co-founder the Rev. Joseph Lowery said, "the first First Lady of the movement."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



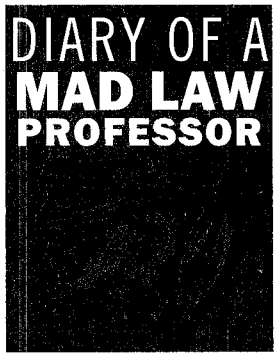
Marshall Arisman, internationally known painter and illustrator, is chair of the MFA Illustration as Visual Essay Program at the School of Visual Arts, New York City.

MARSHALL ARISMAN

ARCHIVE.THENATION.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

All the King's Horses...



In November it was reported that the CIA has given birth to something called the Open Source Center. It sounds like Total Information Awareness revamped, only rebranded to sound less Big Brotherish.

The center is designed to gather all kinds of unclassified information and piece together a broad web of information that will give a better sense of where trouble is likely to arise. The *International Herald Tribune* says that the new center will "absorb the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, a branch of the CIA that has already expanded beyond its historical duty of translating foreign broadcasts and periodicals to study Web sites and more obscure sources like T-shirt slogans in countries of interest," as well as sermons in mosques and local newspapers in rural China.

This is an ambitious project, if an unsurprising one in an era when computers and nanotechnology make such globalized fishing expeditions possible. The Dutch government is already embarking upon a similar project of tracking all its citizens "from cradle to grave." They plan to feed the data into a computer, which would flag certain people for intervention from a young age. Crime prevention, they say. The specialization of education, of welfare benefits. The greater good and all that. We'll see, I suppose. But against that backdrop, I worry that the model of information-assemblage we are pursuing in the United States is for the lesser good.

There's an interesting piece in the December issue of the *Yale Law Journal* by a scholar named David Pozen, titled "The Mosaic Theory, National Security and the Freedom of Information Act." The "mosaic theory," according to Pozen, "refers to the notion that a compilation of unclassified items of information may, in the aggregate, tend to disclose a sensitive or classified fact." Pozen explores the extent to which the Bush Administration has used this theory to justify increased restrictions on disclosure of information under the Freedom of Information Act. Things—any things, little things, things unnamed, things you could only imagine, things that go bump in the night!—might point the way to some larger plot, picture, plan, conspiracy, cabal, anarchic concatenation.

It is not that the government shouldn't be collecting such information—it is the essence of what "intelligence" is supposed to do. The problem is that all this is occurring at a time when the President seems to think that the process of such collection is subject to no review whatsoever, and when courts seem to be abdicating their review function by rubber-stamping whatever does come before them.

In case after case, the Administration has asserted that it can't release even previously unclassified data because they might be part of a mosaic—innocent in and of themselves but able to be fitted together toward some unspecified evil end. As Pozen observes, however, it's part of the human mind to fit things together, to puzzle things out. The invocation of a "mosaic" metaphor to suppress what might be connected to some amorphous other [redacted]could be used to justify keeping anything at all secret.

This process is something like putting Humpty Dumpty together after the fall. Culling broad patterns from disconnected tidbits drawn from such disparate and out-of-context sources as haberdashery and random websites and village gossip sheets is, at some level, a bit like taking a Rorschach test—an inkblot pattern. A healthy process of review is the balance of power that keeps the executive from becoming totalistic in its surveillance power, the all-seeing, all-digesting Panopticon.

Again, it is not that the CIA doesn't have the power to collect and analyze information, but there must be some independent body also reviewing what the agency does with it, some review of who draws what conclusions from which pieces of the puzzle. It makes a difference who is collecting, who is reading, who is making policy based on it. It makes a difference where the data are stored—the military? the Education Department? From phone taps to Google searches, the bottom line of the CIA these days is to confront, confine, eliminate.

Given the track record, I frankly fear the paranoia of those who are most likely to be the enforcers of whatever the Open Sourced seers haruspicate from the dot-com entrails. Twitchy, traumatized veterans of too many wars will see what they fear most, imagine the terrors of their last encounters. We could soon be "taking down" T-shirt factories all over the globe, I suppose.

We need the calm restraint of independent review not only for those worst-case scenarios but also for the simple mistakes—of judgment, perception, inflection, self-interest. It is disconcerting, for example, to see how James Hansen, NASA's top climatologist, was told to refrain from publicly discussing the science of global warming. Was this to keep us safe from terrorism? Or, as George Deutsch, a NASA public affairs officer, asserts, "to make the President look good"? We must be concerned about so broad and unchecked a power to silence.

I worry that too many of the good old boys and girls running things at the top seem to be people who simply couldn't read the big picture if it were broadcast on a wall-sized flat-screen TV. The ones who thought Martin Luther King Jr. was a threat to national security. Who promised weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. Who were taken completely off guard by the Palestinian elections. Who golfed with Jack Abramoff. Who didn't see Katrina coming till five days after it hit. Who are tone-deaf to human nature.

These are the people who couldn't see that invading Iraq would be destabilizing, who envisioned pre-emptive war as a "cakewalk," who looked at that great mosaic in the sky and told themselves our soldiers would be showered with flowers, sweetmeats and song. Who decry disagreement as treason, who hail mission accomplished. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ERIC ALTERMAN

Lies About Blowjobs, Bad. Wars? Not So Much.

At a recent conference on the Clinton Administration at Hofstra University, ex–press secretary Jake Siewart made a point that had previously eluded me: It was during the early days of Clinton's presidency that the democratization of instant information made the insider press corps obsolete. To retain their importance and self-regard, these journalists had to invent a new function for themselves, and they did: interpreting, not reporting, the news. But instead of doing the hard work of researching the historical, economic, sociological and political contexts of a given story and then finding a way to explain these in lay terms, they preferred to rely on what came most easily to them: cocktail party gossip, green room small talk, semiofficial leaks and unconfirmed rumor, almost always offered up as if the source had no interest in pushing a point of view.

It soon became clear that the insider press corps had developed a set of values almost completely antithetical to those of the majority of the American people. This disjunction is frequently misinterpreted—often deliberately—as one of snooty liberal elitists versus God-fearing, Darwin-disbelieving, upright common folk. It's almost impossible to find reliable evidence for this characterization, either in what the press corps believes or what the public does. Ironically, the media elite are attacking themselves when they embrace this myth, which is purposely stoked by the far right, as I've demonstrated ad nauseam.

A true dichotomy between the public and the elite media can be found, on the other hand, on the subject of presidential lying. Excluding George Washington and perhaps Jimmy Carter, just about all Presidents have found it necessary to lie to the American people. And with those two exceptions, and possibly a few others, many have also found it necessary—or at least desirable—to fool around with women other than their wives. For reasons of culture and history, the mainstream media decided that both of these longstanding traditions had to end with Bill Clinton.

When Bill Clinton lied about a few blowjobs, the Washington press corps treated his actions as a threat to the Republic. As John Harris observes in his history of the period, *The Survivor*, on the night Clinton offered his prime-time, post-testimony national apology, network commentary was overwhelmingly negative. Calls for Clinton to resign reigned on pundit television and on the op-ed pages throughout the ordeal—often couched in terms of doing so "for the children." But Clinton pollster Mark Penn would soon find, Harris explains, that "a clear majority of viewers thought Clinton's remarks were fine.... It was only hard-core Republicans and political 'elites'—the kind of people quoted by the networks—who were dissatisfied with the speech." This would prove, Harris observes, "a vivid example of the dichotomy in public opinion that had existed all year." Indeed, Clinton's approval rating hovered between the mid-sixties and the low seventies through the entire ordeal.

Oddly, given the many obvious and quite consequential differences between a blowjob and a botched war effort, the Washington press corps appears to have reached a consensus that the former is a far more serious matter. Pundit "dean" David Broder, who whined that Clinton "trashed the place, and it's not his place," has declared himself uninterested in the question of whether Bush & Co. deceived Congress and the nation into its ruinous Iraq adventure. "This whole debate about whether there was just a mistake or misrepresentation or so on is, I think, from the public point of view largely irrelevant," Broder explained to his chum Tim Russert on NBC's *Meet the Press*. "The public's moved past that." Shortly thereafter Gloria Borger of *U.S. News & World Report* wondered why the topic was even being raised: "Ah, 'misleading.' Didn't we live through that argument already? In fact, wasn't that in the Democratic talking points in the 2004 election? Are we still arguing over who lied or did not lie about WMD?" she complained. It's shocking enough that pundits had less interest in Bush's prewar lies than, say, Oprah had in James Frey's rehab program, but it's more so that they can't be bothered to care now that the lies have been exposed. The explosive revelations in the Downing Street memo got relatively scant coverage, as did recent revelations of documents demonstrating that the phony story about the yellowcake uranium Iraq allegedly bought from Niger had been discredited long before Bush made his false pronouncements on the subject.

Underlying this attitude may be a simple matter of personal pique. While the punditocracy, much like a scorned lover, resented Clinton, it cannot shake its affection for Bush, no matter how much contempt he showers on their collective heads. As Chris Matthews proclaimed, "Everybody sort of likes the President, except for the real whack-jobs." Today the percentage of Americans who say they actually "like" Bush, according to a *New York Times*/CBS Poll, is 37 percent. That figure is consistent with Harris Interactive polls reported around Thanksgiving, just before the above statements were made, showing that about 64 percent of Americans believe the Bush Administration "generally misleads the American public on current issues to achieve its own ends...while fewer than a third of Americans believe the information provided by the Administration is generally accurate."

But the insider press corps cannot connect Bush's war lies to his unpopularity, because it has so much difficulty acknowledging either one. Nor have its members—so many of whom, not just Judy Miller, helped lay the groundwork for this Administration's criminal deception by parroting its lies and propaganda—seen fit to take responsibility for their role. Even today, Bush remains a far more respected and admired figure among insiders than Clinton, much less Al Gore, Ted Kennedy or any of our leaders who sought to save us from the Iraq catastrophe.

Clinton's 1998 State of the Union address was the most progressive of any President's in two decades, but it mattered little because, it turned out, he'd lied about his sex life. Eight years later Bush's State of the Union address will matter much more, because, after all, he only lies about everything. ■

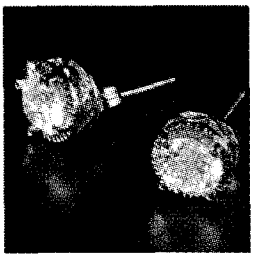
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Put Yourself in Solitary Refinement

The elegant science of the DiamondAura Solitaire Ring and Earrings.

There is simply no more elegant jewel than a solitaire brilliant cut gemstone. Its simple styling and grace has adorned rings and earrings for generations. And nothing says "I love you" better than the solitaire. Our Diamond*Aura* laboratory has paid the ultimate respect to this timeless jewelry classic and created the exquisite solitaire brilliant cut ring and earrings.

Science conquers beauty. We will not bore you with the incredible details of our scientific Diamond*Aura* process, but will only say that it involves the use of naturally occurring minerals heated to an incredibly high heat (5000 degrees F), which can only be accomplished inside some very modern and very expensive laboratory equipment. Only an experienced diamond appraiser utilizing the proper instruments is able to make the distinction between a top quality mined diamond and a Diamond*Aura*. Both stones are incredibly hard and both will cut glass.



Mathematical perfection. Our gemstone cutters have studied the original work of the famed diamond cutter Marcel, who in 1919 perfected the geometric calculations for the round brilliant cut. The brilliant cut maximizes the fire and radiance so that the stone disperses white light into an exquisite rainbow of colors. In purely scientific terms, the refractory characteristics of the Diamond*Aura* are actually superior to that of a mined diamond.

The 4 "c"s. The color, clarity, cut, and carat weight of the Diamond*Aura* solitaire is comparable to a 1.25 carat D "flawless" diamond but at $50,000, a mined diamond of these specifications is out of reach. And unlike most imperfect mined diamonds our Diamond*Aura* has no faults or inclusions.

The vintage setting. The Diamond*Aura* Solitaire Ring is elegantly enhanced by eight single cut round stones dramatically set in a platinum plated sterling silver or in a 23k gold overlay band. The center stone is mounted on a classic 4 pronged setting that was originally designed by Franz Xavier—royal jeweler to the Hapsburgs—in 1910.

If for any reason you are not satisfied with your purchase, please return it to us within 30 days for a full refund. But when you experience the color and radiance of this scientific breakthrough, we expect that you will treasure these jewels for this generation and the next.

Not Available in Stores

Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.

Diamond*Aura* Solitaire Rings (1.25 ctw)
Sterling Silver Ring **$99.95** +S&H
Gold Vermeil Ring **$129.95** +S&H
(2 carat solitaire rings also available. Call for pricing.)

Diamond*Aura* Stud Earrings (1.00 ctw)
Sterling Silver Earrings **$59.95** +S&H
Gold Vermeil Earrings **$69.95** +S&H
(1.5 ctw and 2.5 ctw stud earrings available. Call for pricing.)

800-482-9087

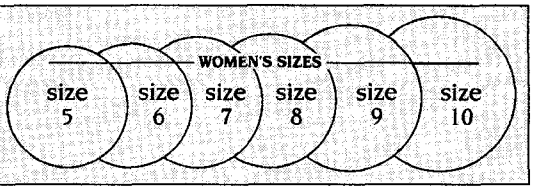
Promotional Code DSR104-01

Please mention this when you call.
To order by mail, please call for details.

Stauer 14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Dept. DSR104-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

View the entire DiamondAura collection:
www.stauer.com

Place one of your own rings on top of one of the circles. Your ring size is the circle that matches the diameter of the inside of your ring. If your ring falls between sizes, order the next larger size.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOBODY OWNS THE NATION.

Not GE. Not Disney. Not Murdoch or Time Warner. We are a wholly owned subsidiary of our own conscience.

This independence is why great writers have always used *The Nation* as an Early Warning System—to expose before it's too late the frauds, felonies and follies of the all–too–private enterprise we call Our Government.

And it's why week in, week out we're read by an audience as illustrious as our authors.

If you believe, as our readers do, that the highest form of patriotism is demanding to know exactly what Government's doing in your name, why not sign on today at this *very* low rate? You can save a lot—not least of which could be your country.

THAT'S WHY SO MANY SOMEBODIES READ IT.

Ani DiFranco is a longstanding* Nation *reader.

(Legally speaking, of course, everything has an owner, but as a *Nation* editor once wrote, "it is one of the superb facts about *The Nation* that you can no more 'own' it than you can own the spirit it represents.")

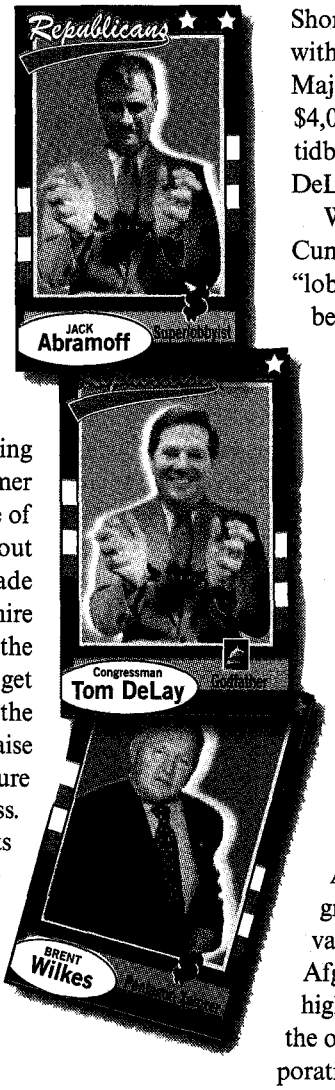
LICENSED TO ADS.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES

Exile on K Street

JEREMY SCAHILL

In January the powerful Alexander Strategy Group shut down its public operations faster than merchants peddling pirated DVDs on Canal Street who hear the cops are on the way. The well-connected Republican lobbying firm, founded and run by former senior staffers of embattled ex–House majority leader Tom DeLay, explained that the publicity from the Jack Abramoff mega-scandal had fatally damaged its business. On the surface, it appears to be the fall of a major player in the GOP's K Street Project, which has made lobbying a highly partisan industry. But don't count out ASG: Already, according to the *Washington Post*, most of its lobbyists are setting up a "successor firm."



While ASG spins its problems as collateral damage from the Abramoff affair, it's hardly the victim of an errant public relations bomb. In fact, the firm was deeply entangled in several of the Washington scandals. Its swift shutdown offers a rare X-ray of the elaborate lobbying shell game that trades access to lucrative government contracts for funds to fill the campaign war chests keeping Republicans in power. Founded by DeLay's former chief of staff, Ed Buckham, ASG was a centerpiece of this game. In a recent report, Public Citizen lays out the rules: "In this partnership, corporations, trade associations and lobbying firms are pressured to hire only Republicans.... Those lobbyists then help the Republican leadership to 'whip on the outside'—to get Republican members of the House to vote for the leadership's legislative agenda. The lobbyists also raise enormous sums of money from their clients to ensure that Republicans remain the majority in Congress. For this fealty, the leadership grants the lobbyists access to the decision-makers and provides legislative favors for their clients." ASG had close ties to Abramoff, shared clients with him and had an overlap with some staff. The firm offered what few lobbying houses could: instant standing with the most powerful Republicans and a shortcut to the most lucrative contracts in Congress.

ASG was organized out of the same Washington townhouse as another DeLay-connected operation, the US Family Network, established in 1996 as a secret mini–war room for attacking Democratic candidates. In 1999 Buckham—then operating on behalf of USFN—funneled some $300,000 in soft-money contributions from the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC) through USFN to an organization called Americans for Economic Growth, which in turn used the funds to run attack ads against Democratic candidates. Buckham ran the townhouse operation with longtime DeLay crony Jim Ellis. USFN was established almost entirely with money from Abramoff's clients, according to a report in the *Washington Post*. Eventually, in 2004, the FEC fined the NRCC in connection with the scandal. The townhouse was also used at various points by DeLay's Americans for a Republican Majority (ARMPAC), headed by Ellis, as well as a PAC run by DeLay's handpicked successor, Roy Blunt of Missouri. As it happens, when Blunt arrived in Washington and needed someone to run his PAC, DeLay sent Ellis. Shortly after Ellis was indicted in Texas in connection with another DeLay PAC, Texans for a Republican Majority, Blunt's PAC increased its payment to Ellis to $4,000 a month, up from $3,000. Among the other tidbits in this incestuous affair: ASG employed Tom DeLay's wife, Christine, for four years.

While Abramoff, DeLay and Randy "Duke" Cunningham dominate the headlines in the current "lobbying scandal" media reports, ASG deserves to be heavily scrutinized for its role in each of those scandals and others not yet on the mainstream radar.

Just a few months ago it would have been difficult to predict ASG's downfall. The firm was enjoying a prosperous 2005, ranked as a top 25 lobbyist by *National Journal*, with revenues on a serious rise—up 34 percent in one year, to $8 million. In addition to powerhouses like PhRMA, Enron, TimeWarner, Microsoft and Eli Lilly, ASG counted among its clients over the years several evangelical Christian causes and organizations—among them, right-wing media operations like Salem Communications, the National Religious Broadcasters and Grace News. ASG was also a quiet workhorse in procuring lucrative military contracts for some of its clients. Recently, ASG was on the cutting edge of one of the fastest-growing industries within the military world—private security. With the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan, mercenaries have found themselves in high demand, scooping up lucrative contracts from the occupation forces, local politicians and foreign corporations. After Blackwater USA had four of its operatives killed in Falluja, in March 2004, it hired ASG to manage its newfound fame. This past September Blackwater forces were among the first to arrive in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina, snagging profitable federal security contracts. Blackwater's press contact for its New Orleans operations was none other than Anne Duke, one of ASG's fourteen lobbyists. In other news stories it was Paul Behrends, a partner at ASG and a friend of Blackwater founder Erik Prince. Behrends, as it happens, was a longtime national security adviser to Representative Dana Rohrabacher of California, who incidentally has emerged as one of Abramoff's biggest defenders. A few months after hir-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing ASG in 2004, Blackwater's Prince and the company's president, Gary Jackson, both longtime GOP donors, made their first-ever contributions to DeLay. They also began contributing to several other ASG-favored lawmakers.

In November a coalition of security firms, Blackwater among them, began a push to recast their mercenary image under the banner of the International Peace Operations Association. And it was ASG they enlisted to help them do it. Among those registered by ASG as lobbyists for IPOA were several former DeLay staffers, including Buckham and Karl Gallant, former head of DeLay's ARMPAC, and Tony Rudy, DeLay's former counsel, who is deeply implicated in the Abramoff investigation. Despite the scandal, the head of IPOA, Doug Brooks, recently told *Roll Call* that the association with its ASG lobbyist would continue, saying, "We found them helpful in terms of what we were working on."

Of all ASG's activities, its military contracting work could bring it the closest to the recent spate of lobbying scandals. Among ASG's select group of military-oriented clients is major GOP fundraiser Brent Wilkes. Wilkes was a "Bush Pioneer" who raised more than $100,000 for the President and served as the finance co-chair for the Bush campaign in California. More recently he won himself a new title—"Co-conspirator No. 1" in the Cunningham criminal investigation. He gave more than $630,000 in contributions and favors to the disgraced legislator, who pleaded guilty in November to taking $2.4 million in bribes in return for steering military contracts toward select companies. For years Wilkes has raked in tens of millions in taxpayer dollars doing what could arguably be done at Kinko's—digitally scanning old paper documents for the military. Of course, it is presented in more sophisticated phrases, like "automated document conversion." In addition to flights on his plane, Wilkes doled out more than $840,000 in contributions to over thirty Congress members and candidates. In turn, over the past decade Wilkes's companies, including Automated Document Conversion Systems (ADCS), were awarded some $90 million in military contracts.

There are several tales, told by Pentagon insiders, of Wilkes becoming outraged at the suggestion that another company would be awarded a contract for document conversion. In 1999 Wilkes's possessiveness caught the eye of the Pentagon Inspector General, who, according to the *Washington Post*, concluded that the contracts were granted through "irregular procedures." Assistant Deputy Under Secretary of Defense Louis Kratz told the paper that he had requested the probe after both Cunningham and Wilkes had called him pressing for the release of funds for ADCS. "Kratz said he had never before experienced anything close to their 'meddling' and 'arrogance.'" According to Kratz, Wilkes "implied that it was his money."

A *Nation* investigation has revealed that, before Wilkes hired ASG to help him grease the Congressional wheels, he enlisted the services in September 1999 of a rookie lobbyist named Patrick McSwain. It was an interesting choice. Until August 1999 McSwain was Duke Cunningham's trusted chief of staff. It is a federal crime for a departed senior Congressional staffer to lobby his former boss for one year after leaving. A review of Congressional lobbying records indicates that the day after leaving Cunningham's staff, on August 9, 1999, McSwain registered as a lobbyist for defense giant General Dynamics, which received $33.2 billion in contracts from 1998 to 2003—mostly no bid contracts. On the registration form, McSwain specifically indicates his intent to lobby on the Defense Appropriations Bill of 2000. Cunningham had enormous control over that bill, serving not only on the Defense and Appropriations committees but also on the conference committee reviewing the bill. Alex Knott, head of the Center for Public Integrity's LobbyWatch, says, "There's a strong chance" McSwain violated federal law. "It would have been extremely hard to lobby on a bill that went before Representative Cunningham in so many areas and not have any correspondence with him or his staff," he says. A month after his departure from Cunningham's office, McSwain signed up, as his second client ever, Wilkes's ADCS. And it was that same year, 1999, that Wilkes, flush with contracts won largely through his greasing of Cunningham, came into serious money, buying two new homes, one for $1.5 million. Did his new lobbyist—former chief of staff to his sugar daddy—have anything to do with this? It is hard to imagine that he didn't. On his personal web page, McSwain boasts of his deep connections in Congress, "the personal and professional relationships with senior staff members that are a necessary part of any successful government affairs effort."

McSwain went on to found the high-powered GOP lobbying firm Northpoint Strategies, along with his successor at Cunningham's office, Trey Hardin. According to the Center for Public Integrity, from 2002 to 2004, Northpoint's revenues made a whopping jump from $160,000 to $2.4 million. Its number-one client? The heavily Bush-connected Carlyle Group-United Defense, which paid the firm more than $1 million in 2003–04. Number two: the Titan Corporation (of Abu Ghraib fame).

If McSwain's exploits are not on the radar of those investigating the broad network of individuals connected to Cunningham and Wilkes, they should be.

While McSwain turned his energies to Northpoint, Wilkes amped up his lobbying expenditures, using his firm Group W Advisors to funnel funds through ASG—some $620,000 since 2002. Group W itself was a registered lobbyist hired almost exclusively by other Wilkes-run or -affiliated companies. Group W in turn contracted with ASG. "It's just creating another layer of difficulty for people to figure out who's doing what for how much on what issues," says Roberta Baskin of the Center for Public Integrity. Under ASG direction, Wilkes homed in on key legislators who, if greased properly, could make the contract-procurement process run smoothly. Former ARMPAC head Karl Gallant personally worked the Group W account for ASG, as did Tony Rudy.

Like Cunningham, DeLay flew three times on Wilkes's private plane, operated by Group W Transportation. In late 2005 Texas prosecutor Ronnie Earle subpoenaed records from three of Wilkes's companies that had given sizable contributions to DeLay's Texans for a Republican Majority. The PAC was key in DeLay's redistricting plan, which resulted in Republican victories in twenty-one of the state's thirty-two Congressional districts in 2004. Among the contributions: $15,000 from Wilkes's

Jeremy Scahill, a correspondent for Democracy Now!, *is a Nation Institute Puffin Foundation writing fellow.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

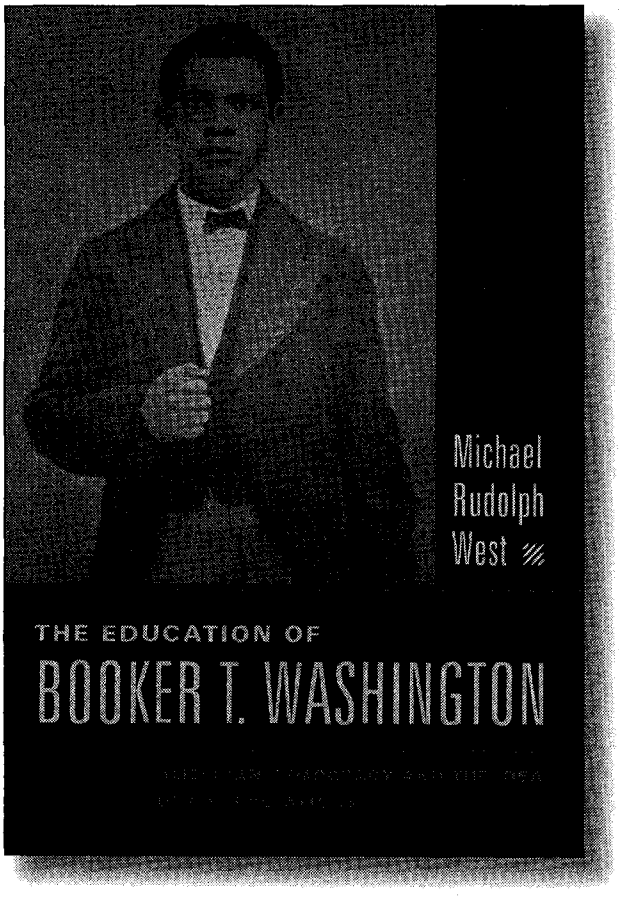
PerfectWave Technologies. According to the *Houston Chronicle*, Wilkes, his companies and his wife gave about $70,000 to DeLay's PACs. And it paid off. Shortly after Wilkes hired ASG, PerfectWave racked up $40 million in federal contracts (from 2003 to 2005). In late January Earle subpoenaed four people affiliated with the company as part of his investigation of DeLay.

Tracing the reach of Wilkes's political giving tree is no easy task. That's because a fair portion of Wilkes's donations are done through family members, employees and his shady network of what could only loosely be called "companies." Many perform no identifiable service other than giving the impression of being separate corporate entities. The websites are flimsy and amateurish, many of them sharing the same office address as the Wilkes Corporation. They have almost no presence on the Internet other than campaign finance records indicating serious donations to GOP candidates and causes. In addition to PerfectWave Technologies, the Wilkes empire includes: Pure Aqua Technologies, Acoustical Communication Systems, Mirror Labs, Optimum Composite Design, MailSafe and other "companies." Overwhelmingly, Wilkes's lobbying money went to one place—military contract lobbying. As veteran Washington reporter/blogger Josh Marshall put it, "Wilkes specialized in finding companies or products for which the DoD had little or no use and then lathering up a few members of Congress so they'd force the Pentagon to buy his junk."

While Cunningham has borne the brunt of this scandal, there are other prominent Republicans who deserve to be investigated—among them, DeLay's protégé Roy Blunt. According to Public Citizen, "Ten of Blunt's biggest contributors have hired [ASG] as their lobbying firm. The firm has been close to Blunt, as Blunt's committees have paid ASG $485,485 from 1999 to 2002 for fundraising and consulting services. ASG's clients, meanwhile, have funneled $581,866 into Blunt's committees since 1999." According to the group, Wilkes "has provided four subsidized trips to Blunt's PACs."

Another powerful Republican who has had questionable dealings with Wilkes is Duncan Hunter, chair of the House Armed Services Committee. He is from Wilkes's home base of San Diego and has admitted that he, along with Cunningham, pressed Pentagon officials in 1999 to redirect a $10 million contract to Wilkes's ADCS. Over the past decade, Wilkes, his associates and his company have given more than $40,000 to Hunter's campaign coffers. Meanwhile, another member of the House Republican leadership, John Doolittle of California, "helped steer defense funding" to PerfectWave, according to the *Washington Post*. The paper notes that the company's "officials and lobbyists helped raise at least $85,000" for Doolittle and his Leadership PAC from 2002 to 2005. Moreover, Doolittle's wife was employed by an organization set up by ASG founder Ed Buckham. According to the San Diego *Union-Tribune*, Wilkes "befriended other legislators, too. He ran a hospitality suite, with several bedrooms, in Washington—first in the Watergate Hotel and then in the Westin Grand near Capitol Hill."

Among those who have taken serious money from Wilkes and his companies are Representative Jerry Lewis, head of the



COLUMBIA, *Refer to us*
columbia.edu/cu/cup

The Education of Booker T. Washington
American Democracy and the Idea of Race Relations
Michael Rudolph West

"Illuminating ... West's study stands out for its innovative argument as well as the author's deep personal investment."
— *Publishers Weekly*

"West's sense of Washington as something of a visionary makes for very stimulating reading. His book has the character of a deep meditation, with significant historical insight, on how we have thought — and thought wrongly — not only about Washington, but about race more generally."
— Steven Hahn, author of *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Appropriations Committee; Representative Jerry Weller and his PAC; and Senator Lindsey Graham. Since the Cunningham scandal broke, many Congress members have quietly given up Wilkes's money, some of them donating it to charities. So bold was Wilkes about his paymasters that, according to the Copley News Service, he had a vanity plate on his jet-black Hummer that read MIPR ME—"a reference to Military Interdepartmental Purchase Requests, which authorize funds in the Pentagon."

Like Abramoff, Wilkes and ASG are not anomalies in Washington. If anything, they are the prototypes for business as usual in the "revolutionary" years of the GOP-dominated Congress. It is of extraordinary significance that Wilkes was a major figure in George W. Bush's fundraising efforts and that ASG was founded and staffed by the inner circle of one of the most powerful politicians in recent history. It speaks volumes to how far and wide these investigations should extend. The new lobbying reform bandwagon circling Washington is like those rubber bracelets made popular by Lance Armstrong—soon everybody made one with their own meaning and by the end none of them meant anything. The recent "lobbying scandals" could spark the beginning of real reform, but that's highly unlikely. That would require tracing the vast network of conspirators to their new offices and titles, which would ultimately lead full circle, back to many of those responsible for heading the investigations—and their former chiefs of staff or their major campaign fundraisers. ■

CHRISTIAN-RIGHT LUMINARIES TOOK PART IN A SORDID GOP–GAMBLING INDUSTRY SCHEME.

Abramoff's Evangelical Soldiers

MAX BLUMENTHAL

Gambling might not rank as high as homosexuality or abortion on the list of social evils monitored by Focus on the Family founder James Dobson, but its growth has provided many occasions for his jeremiads. The indictment of Indian casino lobbyist and influential GOP activist Jack Abramoff was one such occasion. In a January 6 press release issued three days after Abramoff's indictment, Dobson declared, "If the nation's politicians don't fix this national disaster, then the oceans of gambling money with which Jack Abramoff tried to buy influence on Capitol Hill will only be the beginning of the corruption we'll see." He concluded with a denunciation of vice: "Gambling—all types of gambling—is driven by greed and subsists on greed."

CAITLIN DOVER

What Dobson neglected to mention—and has yet to discuss publicly—is his own pivotal role in one of Abramoff's schemes. In 2002 Dobson joined a coterie of Christian-right activists, including Tony Perkins, Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson, to spearhead Abramoff's campaigns against the establishment of several Louisiana casinos that infringed on the turf of Abramoff's tribal clients. Dobson and his allies recorded messages for phone banking, lobbied high-level Bush Administration officials and took to the airwaves. Whether they knew it or not, these Christian soldiers' crusade to protect families in the "Sportsmen's Paradise" from the side effects of chronic slot-pulling and dice-rolling was funded by the gambling industry and planned by the lobbyist known even to his friends as "Casino Jack."

The only Christian-right activist confirmed to be completely aware of Abramoff's rip-off was Ralph Reed. He and Abramoff have a long and storied history together. When Abramoff chaired the College Republican National Committee in the early 1980s, Reed served as the organization's executive director. They reunited in 1989, when Abramoff helped Reed organize the remains of Pat Robertson's failed 1988 presidential bid into the Christian Coalition. In 1997, with the Christian Coalition under IRS investigation and Reed facing accusations of cronyism from the group's chief financial officer, he left to start his own consulting firm, Century Strategies. Reed contacted Abramoff right away. "I need to start humping in corporate accounts," Reed told him in 1998. "I'm counting on you to help me with some contacts."

Though Abramoff apparently was not fond of Reed, he viewed him as useful. "I know you (we!) hate him [Reed], but it does give us good cover and patter to have him doing stuff," he wrote in a February 14, 2002, e-mail to his business partner, Michael Scanlon. "Let's give him a list of things we want...and give him some chump change to get it done." Reed thus became Abramoff and Scanlon's liaison to the Christian right, enlisting his evangelical allies into a web of shadowy casino hustles for "chump change."

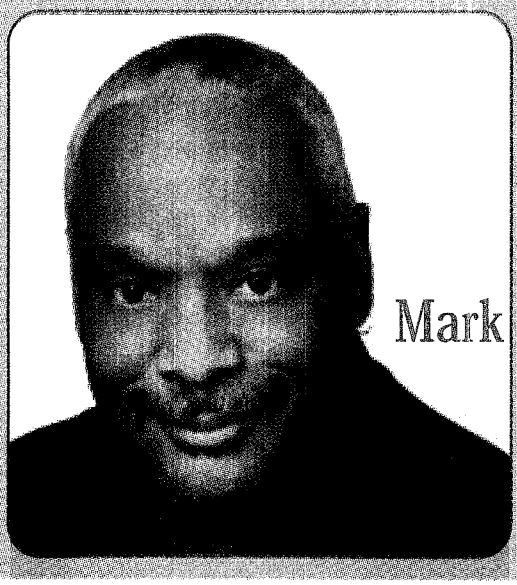
Reed's first sleight of hand was enticing Perkins, Falwell and Robertson to try to block a 2001 bill in the Louisiana legislature loosening restrictions on riverboat casinos, which would have posed a competitive threat to Abramoff's clients, the Coushattas. At the time, Perkins was a right-wing State Representative hailed by Reed as the legislature's "anti-gambling leader." As Perkins lobbied his colleagues against the riverboat bill, he pushed Reed to pour money into an aggressive phone-banking campaign to rally conservative Christian voters.

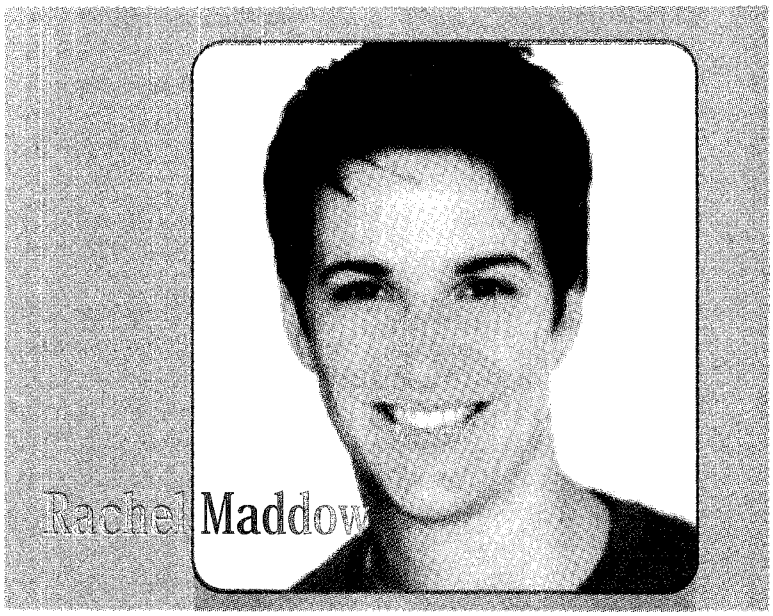
With a steady supply of gambling industry cash, Abramoff dumped a phone-bank budget of more than $60,000 into Reed's war chest for PR efforts against his clients' rivals, the Jena Choctaws (Reed had asked for $150,000)—supplementing the $10,000 in tribal gambling money he directed to Reed's 2001 campaign for

Max Blumenthal is a Nation Institute Puffin Foundation writing fellow based in Washington, DC.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MORNINGS ARE GETTING BRIGHTER ON AIR AMERICA RADIO





"I want to make the news relevant to our everyday lives!" – Mark Riley

"Taking moral victories to actual victories in 2006!" – Rachel Maddow

Progressive Talk's Front Page News

AIR AMERICA RADIO

mornings

5-9am EST

News You Need to Know ★ Top Newsmakers Live
Ensemble of At-Large Correspondents from All Walks of Life

www.AirAmericaRadio.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chair of the Georgia GOP and the nearly $4 million he ultimately funneled into Reed's personal account. Reed then recruited Falwell to record a phone message against the bill. He also solicited the help of his former boss at the Christian Coalition, Pat Robertson, thanking him for his "leadership for our values." Like the answering of a prayer, tens of thousands of Louisiana Republicans suddenly were bombarded with the voice of God against vice, played by Robertson and Falwell.

On March 22, 2001, the bill was resoundingly defeated in the legislature. "You are the greatest!!!" an ecstatic Abramoff wrote to Reed.

Miracle accomplished, Abramoff tapped Reed's services again in January 2002, when his clients learned that then–Louisiana Governor Mike Foster had secretly approved a casino site for the Jena Choctaws. Following a battle plan devised by Scanlon (who inexplicably signed a memo outlining the plan, Mike "The Sausage King" Scanlon), Reed re-enlisted his evangelical allies to rev up grassroots pressure on Bush Interior Secretary Gail Norton, who had the final say on the Jena deal.

Reed first prompted Dobson to attack the Jenas' lobbyist, Washington super-lawyer, former RNC chair and current Mississippi Governor Haley Barbour, during a Focus on the Family broadcast. (In his 2002 campaign for governor, Barbour described himself as "a five-point Calvinist" on American Family Radio.)

"Let me know when Dobson hits him," Abramoff wrote to Reed on February 6, 2002. "I want to savor it." That same day, he e-mailed Scanlon, "He [Dobson] is going to hit Haley by name! He is going to encourage people to call Norton and the WH [White House]. This is going to get fun."

Abramoff transferred more cash to Reed to blast Dobson's tirade against the Jena casino across Louisiana airwaves. Abramoff was confident his Bush Administration contacts would make sure all the right people heard Dobson's hit. "Dobson goes up on the radio next week!" he told Scanlon on February 20. "We'll play it in WH [the White House] and Interior." Abramoff's gamble paid off when word of the ad filtered through the tension-filled halls of the Interior Department. "[White House liaison] Doug [Domenech] came to me and said, 'Dobson's going to shut down our phone system,'" an unnamed former Interior official recounted to the *Washington Post*. "'He's going to go on the air and tell everyone who listens to Focus on the Family to call Interior to oppose the Jena compact.'"

But Abramoff's fun didn't stop there. Reed urged a Who's Who of the Christian right to lobby Norton against the Jena compact with a stream of breathless letters. On February 19 Perkins warned Norton that gambling leads to "crime, divorce, child abuse." American Family Association chair Don Wildmon sent a lengthy missive to Norton filled with statistics on gambling's adverse social impact. The Eagle Forum's Phyllis Schlafly sent another. American Values president Gary Bauer declared in a letter to Norton that the compact ran "contrary to President Bush's pro-family vision." Focus on the Family vice president Tom Minnery wrote Norton and White House Chief of Staff Andy Card to demand they stop the deal. Dobson capped the mail blitz with his own missive against gambling expansion.

Despite the best efforts of Abramoff and the Christian soldiers Reed recruited, in December Norton approved the Jena compact. Soon after, Louisiana's new governor, Kathleen Blanco, reversed the deal on the basis of her opposition to casino growth. Abramoff's goal was achieved, but all his work was for naught. And his skulduggery was beginning to catch up with him. "I hate all the shit I'm into," he moaned to Scanlon in a February 2003 e-mail. "I need to be on the Caribbean with you!"

However, Abramoff's campaign against the Jena compact was a blessing for most of its Christian-right players. Perkins got to prove his mettle in a national campaign, prompting his appointment the following year by Dobson to president of the Family Research Council, the Washington-based lobbying powerhouse. Dobson, for his part, got to demonstrate his grassroots muscle to the Bush White House, raising his visibility to Karl Rove & Co. and helping him increase his influence over its social agenda as the presidential election approached.

Among Abramoff's evangelical surrogates, only Reed emerged from their relationship with visible baggage. But this was not apparent at the time. Now, as a result of extensive media coverage of his involvement with Abramoff, his campaign for lieutenant governor of Georgia, intended as a stepping stone to higher office, is lagging. He has gone from denying early in his campaign that he accepted gambling money to claiming most recently that Abramoff lied to him about the source of his fees. To generate a strong turnout for his January 21 appearance at a Georgia Christian Coalition meeting, Reed was reduced to enticing his dwindling band of "supporters" with cash and free hotel rooms.

It is still unknown whether Dobson and his allies knew that Reed was working for Abramoff during the anti-Jena campaign. Abramoff claimed in a February 2002 e-mail to his employee Todd Boulanger that he was "working FOR and WITH them [emphasis in original]," referring to Christian-right activists. Dobson, Perkins, Robertson and Falwell have remained silent. Whether or not evidence surfaces to support the claim Abramoff made in his e-mail, it is undeniable he was deeply embedded in the Christian right's infrastructure.

In July 2002, at the height of the anti-Jena campaign, Bauer and Rabbi Daniel Lapin, a fixture at Christian-right events, founded the American Alliance of Christians and Jews. On the group's board were Dobson, Robertson, Falwell and one Jack Abramoff. Lapin's organization, Toward Tradition, which administered the AACJ, received $25,000 from one of Abramoff's gambling industry clients in 2000; took $75,000 from Abramoff and his clients; and then, upon Abramoff's written instructions, hired the wife of Tony Rudy to the tune of $5,000 a month. Rudy, who was Tom DeLay's deputy chief of staff at the time, later a lobbyist, has been named in Abramoff's guilty plea.

While Abramoff cooperates with federal prosecutors, his former Christian-right surrogates have abstained from coming clean about their relationship with him. Acknowledging willing collusion with a disgraced casino lobbyist would be suicidal among their followers. But there are also risks in casting themselves as useful idiots in Abramoff's game. Such a tactic would reveal the "pro-family" movement as just another gear in a sordid Republican political operation. What did Dobson know and when did he know it? As the wheels of justice grind on, those who claim to speak with the authority of Scripture may soon find themselves under oath. ■

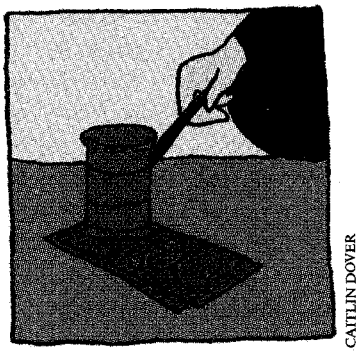
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHY DID THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT BLOCK A US ATTORNEY HOT ON JACK'S TRAIL IN 2002?

Can Justice Be Trusted?

ARI BERMAN

Now that Jack Abramoff's dealings with members of Congress have drawn criminal indictments, the disgraced lobbyist's ties to the Bush Administration are starting to get attention. Reporters are peppering press secretary Scott McClellan with questions about "staff-level meetings" with Abramoff in the White House. Photographs of him with President Bush and other high-level officials are surfacing. Little notice has been paid, however, to the Justice Department, charged with prosecuting Abramoff. Evidence has emerged that the department played an active role in shutting down an investigation of Abramoff's dubious lobbying activities in Guam in November 2002. The story raises questions about whether Justice can be trusted with this historic investigation—and whether top White House officials actively abetted Abramoff's shady dealings as early as 2001.



CAITLIN DOVER

The Guam story begins in February 2001, when there was legislation before Congress to create a Supreme Court on the island territory, to be above the existing Superior Court. Judges on that court, who wanted to retain the powers of the island's traditional highest court, asked Howard Hills, a lawyer from California, to hire Abramoff to fight the bill. Abramoff's success in blocking higher wage standards in the Commonwealth of Northern Marianas Islands (CNMI)—where workers are paid $3.05 an hour to make clothes bearing "Made in USA" insignia—had given him a reputation there as an influential lobbyist. Hills, Abramoff and Superior Court Judge Alberto Lamorean subsequently reached an agreement at Abramoff's Capitol Hill restaurant, Signatures. At the time Abramoff, a former member of George W. Bush's transition team, was a $750-an-hour lobbyist with access to the highest levels of the Republican Party.

Between February 2001 and July 2002, the Superior Court paid Abramoff $324,000 in lobbying fees, funneling the money in $9,000 increments through Hills to avoid disclosing that Abramoff was the beneficiary. The arrangement caught the eye of Frederick Black, the acting US Attorney on Guam since 1991. "He'd been there a long time," said Lee Radek, former head of Justice's Public Integrity Section, of Black. "I liked him. He had a good reputation." A retired district court judge appointed Black on a temporary basis, but lack of a replacement, his reputation for integrity and his high conviction rate kept him in the post.

At that time Black was leading a larger corruption investigation into Guam Governor Carl Gutierrez's office for diverting government funds for personal gain. To get Black off his back, Gutierrez hired Abramoff through a contract with the Guam International Airport Authority. "Abramoff claimed he had a top political guy at DOJ he could go to, to get rid of Black," says a source close to the investigation. The two met in DC in late 2001 or early 2002, around the time that Abramoff was employed by the Superior Court. Their strategy was to paint Black as a Clintonite, although he'd been named by the first President Bush and Gutierrez himself was a Democrat. "Gutierrez's role was to get Republicans to go to DOJ and the White House and say, Why have you not replaced that Democrat who's been acting US Attorney?" the source says. Before employing Abramoff, Gutierrez also retained Mark Touhey, a high-profile Washington lawyer who's currently defending Representative Bob Ney, repeatedly named in Abramoff's guilty plea for taking bribes from the lobbyist in return for official favors. Touhey reportedly met with Justice on at least one occasion to force Black's removal.

Sources confirm that in early November 2002 Black contacted the Public Integrity Section, the unit currently heading the department's Abramoff task force, and asked for assistance in investigating Abramoff's lobbying activities. Black didn't have the resources to conduct investigations of both Gutierrez and Abramoff, and wanted Washington to help on the Abramoff part. Senior officials working closely under then–Attorney General John Ashcroft were also notified of Black's request. Since Black's communication happened to raise serious questions about the integrity of a high-level federal official who was being renominated to his post, Justice forwarded the information to the Deputy Attorney General's office and the Office of Legal Policy (OLP), which generally handles such concerns.

Sources close to the probe say the information was likely passed on to then–White House Counsel Alberto Gonzales, who worked closely with Justice on such matters. "Those heads of OLP who are pretty well connected deal directly with the White House counsel," says Lee Casey, a former OLP aide under Reagan and Bush I. (Black declined to comment and Justice spokesman Bryan Sierra refused to provide details about an "ongoing criminal investigation.")

Up to this point Abramoff had lobbied to replace Black because Governor Gutierrez had hired him to do so. Now he had a personal stake in Black's investigation—he was a target of it. It's not known whether Abramoff tried to stop Black's investigation of him, but such interference would have been in character. Earlier in the year Abramoff had persuaded Justice to kill a risk-assessment report on Guam and the CNMI, which Black had ordered. The report might have jeopardized the influx of cheap labor to CNMI, where Abramoff had $1.6 million in lobbying contracts. In an e-mail dated October 1, 2001, Abramoff told CNMI officials he learned of the results of the security review from Ashcroft's chief of staff, David Ayres, whom he hosted at a

Ari Berman, a Nation *contributing writer based in Washington, DC, is a Nation Institute Puffin Foundation writing fellow.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Redskins game. Abramoff mentioned an upcoming meeting with Ashcroft and another meeting, at a pickup basketball game, between the Attorney General and an Ashcroft aide who'd become an Abramoff staffer. "We'll hope that higher ups will take some time to squash this on their own," Abramoff wrote. Sure enough, the report never came out and Justice demoted its author, regional security specialist Robert Meissner. Did Abramoff use the same Justice channels to quash Black's inquiry?

Despite Justice's refusal to help him, Black convened a grand jury, which subpoenaed the Abramoff contract with the Superior Court on November 18, 2002. The next day the Bush Administration announced that Black would be replaced as US Attorney and demoted him to Assistant US Attorney, after twelve years on the job. His replacement was Guam's Assistant Attorney General, Leonardo Rapadas. "Fred was removed because he asked to indict Abramoff," says one of Black's colleagues at Justice. "I don't believe it was a coincidence."

Rapadas's conduit to the White House, veteran Washington lobbyist Fred Radewagen, "had access all the way up to Karl Rove," says David Sablan, former head of the Guam Republican Party. At the time of Black's demotion, former Abramoff aide Susan Ralston was working as a top assistant to Rove, a post she still holds.

Before Rapadas's confirmation, in May 2003, law-enforcement officials in Guam had supplied extensive information to Ashcroft and senior Justice officials indicating that he would have to recuse himself from the Gutierrez investigation because he was related to two people implicated in the scandal. Also in May, Guam's new Governor, Felix Camacho, a former Black ally, met with Abramoff in Washington. That same month, Justice dispatched Assistant US Attorney Russ Stoddard to Guam. Stoddard proceeded to bar Black from working on any public corruption cases and demanded that all new cases be approved through him, rather than the criminal division—a highly unorthodox procedure. Black's investigation into Abramoff's activities was forceably halted. Reportedly, the FBI and the DOJ Inspector General have begun looking into Black's demotion. Sources close to the IG investigation say its findings will be released soon. But the way Justice silenced Black and Meissner in part prompted Senators Chuck Schumer and Ken Salazar to call for the appointment of a special counsel to handle the Abramoff investigation. The circumstances of Black's removal raise several questions. Did the White House interfere to stop Black's investigation? Was Gonzales involved? Was Ashcroft?

More broadly, how can Justice be trusted to investigate a matter in which it is so deeply implicated? Despite the Public Integrity Section's reputation for impartiality, there are few institutional checks to prevent further political meddling into its current investigation of Abramoff. On January 25 Bush nominated the current Public Integrity Section head, Noel Hillman, to a federal judgeship in New Jersey and named a temporary replacement mid-investigation. Justice can prosecute the case without any political pressure "as long as the targets are members of Congress," says former Deputy Attorney General Eric Holder. "If, however, you start to develop ties between Congress, Abramoff and people in the White House, it becomes problematic, especially from an appearance perspective. Because of the Deputy Attorney General's and the Attorney General's ties to the President, the need for an outside counsel becomes greater."

Otherwise, how can the public be sure that the President's man, Alberto Gonzales, will conduct an honest, thorough investigation of Abramoff when the targets might include his top deputies, his former White House colleagues, his predecessor, his boss—indeed, himself? ■

AFTER 42 YEARS ASSASSINATION BUFFS CONTINUE TO ATTACK THE WARREN REPORT.

The JFK Lawyers' Conspiracy

MAX HOLLAND

During forty-two years of controversy over the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, the legal profession has played an instrumental role. All seven members of the Warren Commission, which investigated the 1963 assassination, were lawyers. There were twenty-seven people on the commission's staff (including Norman Redlich, a *Nation* contributor since 1951), twenty-two of whom were aspiring or practicing attorneys. The combined efforts of these lawyers produced an imperfect report in September 1964, although its fundamental findings have never been seriously impeached.

CAITLIN DOVER

Max Holland, a Nation *contributing editor, is the author of* The Kennedy Assassination Tapes *(Knopf).*

But what the legal profession giveth, less scrupulous members of the bar taketh away. Since 1964 four other lawyers have been chiefly responsible for putting the Warren Report into undeserved disrepute. During a conference in November sponsored primarily by the Washington-based Assassination Archives and Research Center (AARC)—headed, not coincidentally, by a lawyer—three of these four lawyers made rare public appearances or were otherwise represented in spirit.

The paterfamilias of disingenuousness, Mark Lane, was noticeably absent. An obscure New York attorney at the time of the assassination, Lane single-handedly set the standard for dishonest criticism. In 1964 he spread innuendo about an ostensibly sinister delay in the Warren Commission's investigation as

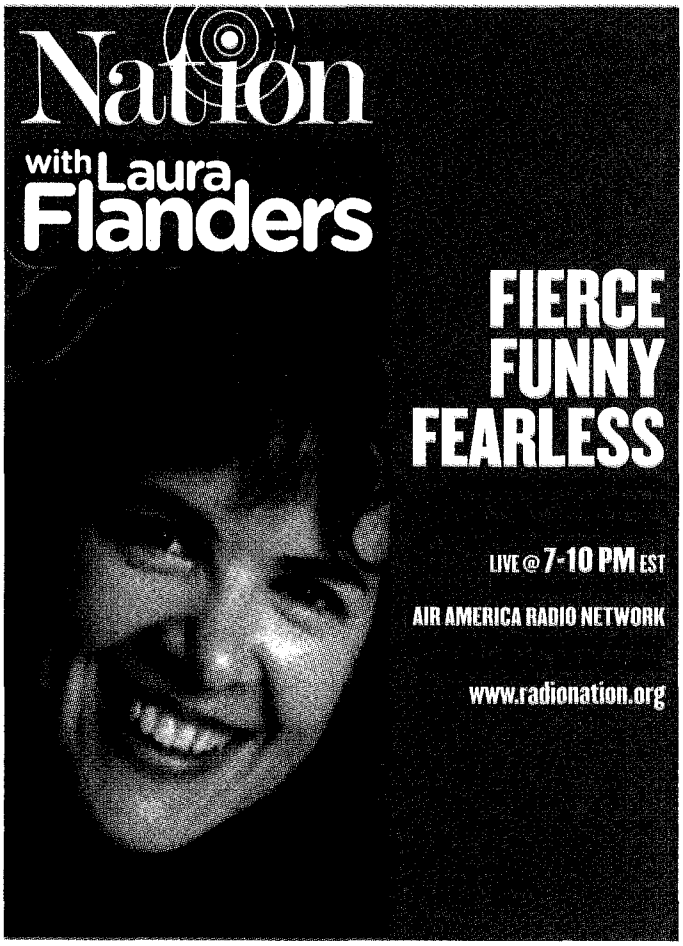
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he went barnstorming around the country giving what was then known as The Speech. Two years later Lane published a book titled *Rush to Judgment*, having conveniently forgotten his earlier accusation. Carey McWilliams, editor of *The Nation* during those years, steadfastly refused, to his everlasting credit, to propagate Lane's basic allegation that the government was indifferent to the truth. Little did McWilliams (or anyone else) know then that the KGB was finding Lane's work so useful that it was secretly underwriting his "research" and travel in the amount of $12,500 (in 2005 dollars).

The Soviet intelligence service was engaged in a scheme to implicate the CIA, the FBI and the far right in the assassination and the subsequent murder of the accused assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, but had little to show for its efforts until New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison inserted himself into the case in 1967. Owing to a clever piece of disinformation implanted in a left-wing Roman newspaper, *Paese Sera*, in March 1967, Garrison became consumed by the notion that Clay Shaw, a prominent businessman he had charged with participating in an alleged conspiracy that killed JFK, was actually "an employee of the CIA... an agency man in Rome trying to bring Fascism back to Italy," as he put it in his 1988 memoir. Within a matter of months Garrison had succeeded in making the KGB's wildest fantasy come true: An elected public official in America was propagating Moscow's line. Not even Lane had dared suggest that official Washington was complicit in the assassination itself.

Garrison, having died in 1992, did not attend the AARC conference, but he was represented in spirit by Joan Mellen, a Temple University English professor who has just published a hagiography of the DA, whom Oliver Stone tried to rehabilitate in his 1991 film *JFK*. Mellen's reception was decidedly tepid, for Garrison, like Joe McCarthy, has always represented a fault line. Just as McCarthy was disavowed by many anticommunists because of his beyond-the-pale tactics, conspiracy "buffs," as Calvin Trillin memorably labeled them in a 1967 *New Yorker* article, have always been hopelessly divided over Garrison. Even buffs inclined to believe the DA's grand theory of a military-industrial-intelligence complex find it hard to square that with his persecution of Clay Shaw. The most vociferous critics among the buffs have never forgiven Garrison for setting back the movement almost irreparably. A jury declared Shaw not guilty in 1969 after a mere fifty-four minutes of deliberation, and if Shaw hadn't died prematurely in 1974 at the age of 62, Garrison would likely have found himself at the wrong end of an impressive civil judgment for misuse and abuse of his prosecutorial powers.

The fallow years following the collapse of Garrison's legal farce ended once Watergate proved that conspiracies and cover-ups could exist in high places. During Washington's season of inquiry in the mid-1970s, unresolved questions about the 1963 assassination resurfaced. Some of them richly deserved to be asked, and answered—such as the nature of the cooperation (or lack thereof) between the Warren Commission and the two agencies critical to its inquiry, namely, the FBI and the CIA. Led by Senator Frank Church, Democrats on the Select Committee on Intelligence dived into this issue with a vengeance—until the answers they started coming up with contradicted the still-prevalent view that once there had been a Camelot.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Then–Senator Gary Hart was more responsible than most of his committee colleagues for twisting unpalatable truths into the logical equivalent of pretzels and milking the tragedy for political gain. The only genuine conspiracy Hart and his colleagues established was the Kennedy Administration's attempts to kill Fidel Castro, and the subsequent efforts to keep that secret from one and all, including the Warren Commission. These days Hart—a lawyer before he entered politics—seldom talks about the Church Committee. Nonetheless, he made a rare appearance at the AARC conference to speak about the "still unanswered questions" raised by his three-and-a-half-month inquiry.

Listening to Hart was an exercise in time travel. The perspective gained after thirty years, not to mention information available from tens of thousands of recently declassified documents, was airbrushed out of existence. Hart forthrightly admitted that he has "not followed the research" but acted as if his conclusions were as fresh and relevant as when first issued in 1976. He remains a "total agnostic" on who killed Kennedy, and overly proud of his role in revealing that two groups were ostensibly motivated to kill the President: anti-Castro exiles and the Mafia. Those who testified before Hart have a somewhat different recollection of the former senator's probity. He was "only interested in [testimony] proving what he wanted proven," James Hosty, a retired FBI agent who testified before Hart in 1975, recently recalled.

When one young man in the audience had the temerity to ask why the Church Committee had not endeavored to answer questions instead of just raising them, Hart became testy, if not bitter. Had he been elected President in the 1980s, Hart averred, he would have reopened the federal investigation into the assassination (for the third time). The clear implication was that the American people will never know because Hart's bid for the presidency was unfortunately aborted.

Notwithstanding Hart's rare discussion—which included his hilarious impression of William Harvey, the CIA officer who negotiated the Mafia's participation in the plots to kill Castro—the centerpiece of the AARC conference was a banquet address by G. Robert Blakey, who was a professor at Cornell Law School when he became chief counsel and staff director of the House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA) in 1977. It is due to Blakey that the federal government speaks (at least superficially) with a forked tongue about the assassination. In 1964 the Warren Commission unanimously found that "on the basis of the evidence before [it]...Oswald acted alone." In 1979 the HSCA infamously concluded that JFK "was probably assassinated as a result of a conspiracy," but the committee was "unable to identify the other gunman or the extent of the conspiracy."

The pregnant construction of the HSCA's hedged conclusion hinged entirely on so-called acoustic evidence rammed through the committee at the eleventh hour by Blakey. Now a law professor at Notre Dame and a nationally recognized expert on the RICO statute, Blakey invariably fails to mention that three HSCA members dissented in 1979 because they found the uncorroborated acoustic evidence unbelievable. And their reservations soon proved correct: A National Research Council panel (aided by an Ohio rock drummer named Steve Barber) established in 1982 that the "shots" allegedly recorded on a police Dictabelt began approximately one minute after the President was mortally wounded and en route to Parkland Hospital (a finding that is reaffirmed in the current issue of *Science & Justice*, a British forensic journal). In point of fact, 99.99 percent of HSCA's report improved upon or underscored the accuracy of the Warren Report's key findings. But one would be hard-pressed to know that after listening to Blakey. The exploitation of the assassination by the likes of Mark Lane, Jim Garrison and Gary Hart, for whatever reasons, was bad enough. But someday a historian looking back will likely declare Blakey the most irresponsible of them all. Blakey was given a position of great responsibility in the mistaken belief that he would seek the truth.

Writing about the prominent role of lawyers in American society, Alexis de Tocqueville once opined that legal training imparted "a kind of instinctive regard for the regular connection of ideas," which tended to make lawyers informed, detached and trustworthy. It is hard to square that assessment with the overall performance of the bar since that day in November. ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

Philadelphia

■ I was surprised that the FLAME ad passed review at *The Nation*. The ad uses techniques common among those committing hate speech, like linking a few individuals with an entire people, so that a few Arabs in Berlin aligned with Britain's enemies become the Arab residents of Palestine plotting to eliminate the Jews.

The ad may reflect your commitment to free speech, but I hope you would not have allowed, during the 1960s, an ad using a photo of a prominent American antiwar activist sitting on an antiaircraft gun to link the antiwar movement with the North Vietnamese Communist Party; or, now, an ad by a Rove-fronted 503(c) that connects opposition to the Iraq occupation with support for Al Qaeda. I still remain a devoted *Nation* reader. BRUCE KINOSIAN, MD

Brooklyn, NY

■ Your editorial claims that you bar "false" ads, and admits that the FLAME ad you published "is, we believe, historically inaccurate." As the poet J.V. Cunningham wrote, "This Humanist whom no beliefs constrained/Grew so broad-minded he was scatter-brained." MARK DOW

We have received much commentary on our policy of accepting ads from organizations with which we are in political disagreement (see our policy at www.thenation.com/mediakit/policy). Since we consider ad submissions case by case and reserve the right to turn down ads we feel go over the line, we understand that not all readers will agree with our decisions. This is clearly the case with the FLAME ad, as these letters attest. We will revisit this issue on the Letters page and editorially in the months ahead. —The Editors

EMENDATION/CORRECTIONS

■ Katha Pollitt refers to Jane Mayer's *New Yorker* article as revealing "the shocking role of doctors and psychologists" in torture at the US prison at Guantánamo ["Subject to Debate," Jan. 9/16]. Earlier reports on this subject by M. Gregg Bloche and Jonathan H. Marks appeared in *The New England Journal of Medicine*, the *Los Angeles Times* and the *New York Times*.

In Pollitt's January 30 column, the author of *Watership Down* should have been given as Richard (not Robert) Adams.

Because of an editing error in Sam Graham-Felsen's "The New Face of the Campus Left" in last week's issue, Matt Singer's blog, Left in the West, was misidentified as right-wing. As its name implies, it is quite the opposite.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS

Heidegger Made Kosher

RICHARD WOLIN

GENERATION EXISTENTIAL: Heidegger's Philosophy in France, 1927–1961.
By Ethan Kleinberg.
Cornell. 294 pp. $39.95.

ORIGINS OF THE OTHER: Emmanuel Levinas Between Revelation and Ethics.
By Samuel Moyn.
Cornell. 268 pp. $29.95.

The year 2005 in France was a "Sartre Year," the celebrated existentialist's centenary. In Paris, bookstores were flooded with commemorative publications. Almost every newspaper and journal set aside space for a copious special issue on his work. The new, ultramodern Bibliothèque Nationale mounted a slick multimedia exhibition on Sartre's life and times featuring salient memorabilia as well as rare video clips from his plays. The obligatory audio CDs of long-forgotten interviews appeared, strategically placed near the cash registers as a tempting impulse purchase for diehards and aficionados. And predictably, in France and abroad, there were countless long-winded academic conferences devoted to his work.

Yet paradoxically, no one seemed to know what to say. On the one hand, no one dominated the landscape of twentieth-century French intellectual life like Jean-Paul Sartre. In fact, no one came close. But therein lay the main problem. After all, with the exception of poetry, Sartre excelled at every literary form imaginable. He wrote philosophical treatises, novels, short stories, essays, plays, biographies and political manifestoes. Many of them are still read and discussed today. In an age of mind-numbing specialization, Sartre was a welcome anachronism, a veritable Renaissance man. Moreover, after the war he inherited the coveted mantle of the engaged intellectual, a venerable French tradition dating back to the likes of Voltaire, Victor Hugo and Émile Zola. In 1960, by signing the "Manifesto of the 121" protesting the brutal war in Algeria and urging French troops to desert, Sartre openly flouted French political authority. When President Charles de Gaulle was urged by his advisers to summarily place the gadfly philosopher under arrest, he responded emphatically: "One does not arrest Voltaire!"

How, then, might one go about commemorating Sartre, the quintessential polymath, a figure who, uncannily, excelled at virtually every endeavor he undertook? Who, in fact, is truly qualified to do justice to his manifold achievements and multifaceted *oeuvre*? When Sartre was alive, at least one could address each successive book, treatise or article serially, as they appeared. His death has deprived us of this rule of thumb. The possibilities for evaluation are dizzying and boundless.

Why did Levinas, a Jewish philosopher born in Lithuania, suddenly become a guru to the French disciples of Martin Heidegger?

But there is another reason the Sartre centennial seemed so deflating. Among intellectuals in today's tepid political climate, Sartre's concept of engagement has become a source of bad conscience. In many ways, he was what we are not—and what we, realistically speaking, can no longer be. Of course, Sartre committed egregious errors in political judgment. As late as 1973 he could still claim that the reason the French Revolution failed was that the Jacobins refused to kill enough people. Shortly thereafter, among French writers and opinion leaders, the so-called anti-totalitarian moment took hold. "Dissidence" became the new intellectual watchword. Sartre's brand of political militancy went rapidly out of fashion. For a younger generation that had bid an unsentimental *adieu* to the temptations and delusions of "leftism," Sartre represented the Marx-

Richard Wolin, Distinguished Professor of History and Comparative Literature at the Graduate Center, City University of New York, is the author, most recently, of The Frankfurt School Revisited *(Routledge).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ist superego that had to be destroyed so that French liberalism could live. Lately, French intellectuals have recoiled in horror at neoliberalism's injustices. Ironically, they have no one but themselves to blame.

This year in France is a "Levinas Year." The French philosopher was born in Lithuania in 1906 and died in 1995, just a few weeks short of his ninetieth birthday. There is something perversely appropriate about the commemorative sequence. In many respects Emmanuel Levinas was the anti-Sartre. Like the author of *Being and Nothingness*, he was enamored of German philosophy. And like Sartre, Levinas viewed himself as an heir to the phenomenological method conceived by Edmund Husserl and consummated by Martin Heidegger. But that's more or less where the similarities end. It would not be an exaggeration to describe Levinas's entire philosophical endeavor as a *machine de guerre* directed against Sartrean existential humanism. With Sartre, it is the "For-Itself," or consciousness, that constitutes philosophy's Archimedean vantage point. For Levinas, conversely, it is the "Other," *l'Autrui*, in all its uncanny metaphysical strangeness.

Although the two men were born within a year of each other, Levinas's anti-Sartrism bore a distinctively Oedipal character. Sartre's version of existentialism needed to perish so that Levinas's approach might live. In fact, for the generation of French thinkers who came of age during the 1940s and '50s, Sartre's presence was so titanic that slaying Sartre-the-father became an obligatory right of passage. So thoroughly did he dominate every field of literary endeavor that his potential heirs felt they lacked breathing space. All of them—Claude Lévi-Strauss, Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, as well as the two Jacques, Derrida and Lacan—at one point or another fired off venom-tipped textual explosives in Sartre's direction. Under the cover of the "death of the author," the structuralist thinkers were secretly hoping for Sartre's early demise.

Levinas was nothing if not a late bloomer. His magnum opus, *Totality and Infinity*, appeared in 1961, when he was already 55. Philosophical acclaim came even later. Not until the 1980s, when Levinas was in his late 70s, did France, his adoptive homeland, take this prolific and illustrious immigrant to its bosom. France has a long history of embracing foreign-born intellectuals and scholars: Jean Piaget, Lévi-Strauss, Derrida and Julia Kristeva were all born outside metropolitan France. Sometimes it just takes a bit longer for them to be recognized.

In Levinas's case the difficulties were compounded by the hazards of biography. In many respects, his philosophy of "Otherness" reflects his own distinctive itinerary as a perennial outsider. As a youth, Levinas was displaced from his native Kovno by the upheavals surrounding World War I. His family relocated to Ukraine, where Levinas attended high school. But the Bolshevik Revolution, and the civil war that followed, made it impossible to remain. The Levinas family returned to a newly independent Lithuania, where they hoped at last to find tranquillity. But Lithuanian nationalism had set in, making things uncomfortable for Russian speakers like the Levinases. Thus, in 1923 the family moved again, this time to Strasbourg, the French city geographically closest to Kovno.

Eastern European dissidence created a crisis for French thinkers who rejected humanism even as they defended the 'rights of man.'

In 1923 Levinas enrolled at the University of Strasbourg; he completed a dissertation on Husserl in 1930. But instead of pursuing a university career, as his mentors had urged in view of his prodigious philosophical talents, he took a post with the Alliance Israélite Universelle, an organization charged with acculturating Eastern European Jews and defending Jewish minorities. During the late 1930s Levinas joined the French army. In 1940 his unit was captured during France's ignominious "strange defeat" at the hands of the German Wehrmacht. It was Levinas's misfortune to sit out the rest of the war in a German prisoner-of-war camp—yet another setback for his vocational aspirations as a philosopher—although for a foreign-born French Jew, things could have been much worse.

After the war, Levinas taught at the École Normale Israélite Orientale, a preparatory school for Jewish teachers. Only in 1961, the year he completed his *thèse de doctorat*, was he rewarded with a university position in the provinces, at the University of Poitiers. In 1973 Levinas, now 67, received a professorship at the Sorbonne—the pinnacle of French university life. Three years later, he retired.

If fame descended upon Levinas belatedly, when it did arrive, it came in spades. And although Levinas's prowess and achievements as a philosopher are considerable, the reasons for his success are circumstantial. For it was Levinas's philosophy that provided the much needed ethical dimension that had been so sorely lacking among the structuralists.

By the 1980s the structuralist wave had fallen upon hard times. The structuralists and their "poststructural" philosophical heirs, Foucault and Derrida, had wagered everything on a withering critique of "humanism," by which they meant any theory that placed "man" at its center. (In this context it is pertinent to note that one of Sartre's most widely read postwar texts bore the title "Existentialism Is a Humanism.") In *The Order of Things* Foucault famously prophesied that "man" would soon be effaced like a drawing in the sand at the edge of the sea. The clear implication was that in the aftermath of man's disappearance, we would be much better off. Yet during the 1970s and '80s French intellectuals, disillusioned with communism and beguiled by Eastern European dissidence, had rediscovered "human rights." At this point it became impossible to square the circle: One could not pose as a detractor of "humanism" and simultaneously sing the praises of "the rights of man."

The rejection of the antihumanist paradigm gained momentum when the full extent of Heidegger's pro-Nazi allegiance was revealed. For it was Heidegger's radical assault on Sartrean humanism that had set the tone and provided the ammunition for the subsequent structuralist attacks.

In his 1941 essay "Recollection in Metaphysics," Heidegger declaimed, "The history of Being is neither the history of man and of humanity, nor the history of the human relation to beings and to Being. The history of Being is *Being itself and only Being*." Five years later, in his 1946 "Letter on Humanism," which had been addressed to a French interlocutor, he claimed that the concept of "man" was a hindrance to anyone who wanted to understand the mysteries of Being. The "Letter," a manifesto of radical "anti-Sartrism," would in many respects become the foundational text of postwar French philosophy. For Heidegger's resolute anti-Cartesianism—his rejection of Descartes's *cogito* as the point of departure for doing philosophy—allowed French philosophers to escape the constrictions and limitations of their own indigenous intellectual traditions. In sum, it allowed French intellectuals to be un-French.

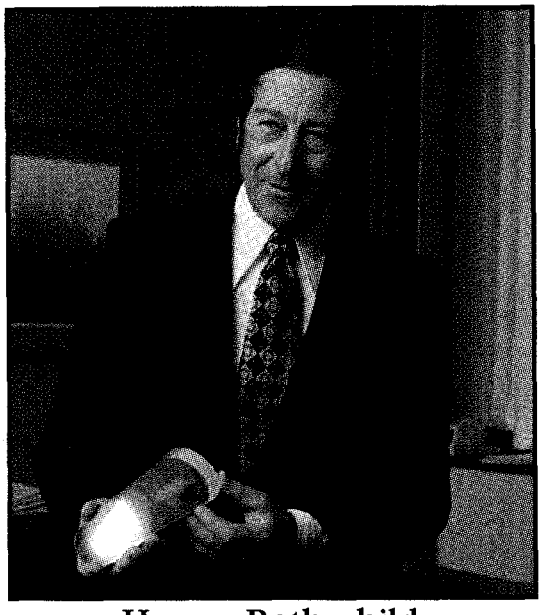
In France Heidegger's star rose as Marx's declined. His philosophy caught on during the 1960s among disenchanted leftists who

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"If I told you that I can end a lifetime of foot pain instantly, you probably wouldn't believe me..."

"Half a million other men and women didn't either... until they tried this revolutionary European discovery that positively killed their foot pain dead!

"Don't live with foot pain a moment longer! If you're ready to recapture the vitality and energy that healthy feet provide, I'll give you 60 days to try the remarkable foot support system I discovered in Europe. You will immediately experience relief and freedom from foot ailments. I GUARANTEE IT!



Harvey Rothschild,
Founder of Featherspring Int'l.

"How can I make such an unprecedented guarantee? Because I personally lived in constant, agonizing foot pain for years before my exciting discovery. What started out as simple aching from corns and calluses grew into full-blown, incapacitating misery only a few other foot pain sufferers could understand.

"Believe me, I tried all the so-called remedies I could get my hands on (and feet into), but none of them really worked. It wasn't until my wife and I took a trip to Europe that I discovered a remarkable invention called Flexible Featherspring® Foot Supports. Invented in Germany, these custom-formed foot supports absorb shock as they cradle your feet as if on a cushion of air.

"Imagine my complete surprise as I slipped a pair of custom-formed Featherspring into my shoes for the first time and began the road to no more pain. The tremendous pain and pressure I used to feel every time I took a step was gone! I could scarcely believe how great a relief I felt even after walking several hours. And after just a few days of use, my pain disappeared totally - and has never returned.

"Whatever your problem– corns, calluses, bunions, pain in the balls of your feet, toe cramps, fallen arches, burning nerve endings, painful ankles, back aches, or just generally sore, aching feet and legs – my Featherspring are guaranteed to end your foot pain or you don't pay a penny.

"But don't just take my word for it: Experience for yourself the immediate relief and renewed energy that Featherspring provide. Send for your FREE kit today on our no risk, 60-day trial offer!"

Visit our website at www.featherspring.com

Please send FREE INFORMATION KIT!

FEATHERSPRING INTERNATIONAL, INC.
712 N. 34th Street, Dept. N026
Seattle, Washington 98103-8881

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State ___ Zip _____

Look for a **LARGE PINK ENVELOPE** containing all the details. **No obligation. No salesperson will call.**

© FEATHERSPRING, 712 N. 34th Street, Seattle, WA 98103-8881

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

belatedly realized that the Soviet Union was not the "radiant utopian future" they had sought. Heidegger's French disciples concluded that Marxism, rather than being the solution, was part of the problem. They dismissed Marx's theory of the proletariat as another failed variant of Western humanism. The working class was merely another incarnation of the "metaphysical subject" writ large. In this respect Heidegger's growing popularity corresponded to the widely sensed social and political paralysis of De Gaulle's "presidential dictatorship" (1958–1969)—a justification *pro vita sua* for a generation of French thinkers who had abandoned the barricades for the platitudes of 1920s German *Kulturkritik*.

By vilifying subjectivity and consciousness, concepts that Sartre prized, the French Heideggerians had fully imbibed the master's crippling political passivity—a passivity dictated by the idea that all human action is ultimately fruitless. According to Heidegger, Being determines everything. The contribution of individual men and women is epiphenomenal and, for the most part, pointless. Hence, the only thing we can do, as Heidegger once claimed, is patiently wait for God, who "can save us."

When French philosophers unwisely traded Marx for Heidegger, they simultaneously consigned the project of human emancipation to the dustbin. They exchanged "freedom" for the mysteries of "Being." Heidegger's philosophy is predicated on a radical criticism of reason and metaphysics. He once observed that "Reason, glorified for centuries, *is the most stiff-necked adversary of thought*."

But by rejecting reason, Heidegger and his French followers simultaneously severed the pivotal link between insight and emancipation. Socrates famously claimed that "knowledge is virtue." In other words: Insight and reflection are the keys to a life well lived. As Socrates declared, "The unexamined life is not worth living." Without the association between insight and emancipation, neither the doctrine of Marx nor of Freud would be possible. For, like that of Socrates, their theories are predicated on the idea that knowledge and human freedom are intrinsically related.

As a recovering Heideggerian, Sartre understood the problem better than anyone. He realized that a philosophy like Heidegger's, which demands unquestioning obedience to nameless, higher powers such as Being, the gods, fate and so forth, is a warrant for human bondage. By preaching submission, it is latently authoritarian. As Sartre astutely observed, a philosophy that "subordinates the human to what is Other than man...has hatred of man as both its basis and its consequence.... Either man is primarily himself, or he is primarily Other than himself. Choosing the second doctrine simply makes one a victim and accomplice of real alienation."

By the late 1980s the moral vacuity of Heidegger's philosophy stood fully exposed. Above all, it lacked an ethics. For Heidegger's French disciples, ethics had seemed superfluous, redolent of the antiquated framework of Western humanism. Ethics implied the necessity of a return to "man." It remained wedded to the paradigm of "subjectivity," which both the structuralists and their Heideggerian allies had sought fervidly to negate.

Levinas provided the French Heideggerians with a powerful ethical doctrine fully consistent with the premises of antihumanism.

Levinas's philosophy provided Heidegger's French disciples with exactly what they were looking for: a powerful ethical doctrine that was fully consistent with the premises of the antihumanist critique. Thus did a Jewish academic from Kovno become the improbable savior of a tradition founded by a former Nazi.

The various rhythms of Heidegger's reception in France are the subject of Ethan Kleinberg's rich and informative book, *Generation Existential*. Regrettably, Kleinberg's narrative ends abruptly in 1961, with the publication of Levinas's *Totality and Infinity*. But Heidegger's dominance in French philosophical circles only occurs subsequently. *Generation Existential*'s lead-up to these developments is edifying. Unfortunately, the payoff is missing.

And the payoff is this: Viewed politically, the reception of Heidegger's work among the French antihumanists ultimately regressed behind the terms of Sartrean existentialism. Sartre's philosophy remained wedded to the notion that human action in the world is meaningful. Unlike Heidegger, he sincerely believed that the problem of freedom still mattered. His *oeuvre* constituted a lifelong meditation on the significance and parameters of this fundamental moral and existential imperative. The turning point came during the 1950s, when Sartre realized the inadequacies of the Stoic-Cartesian conception of freedom presented in *Being and Nothingness*. Thereafter, in order to rethink the problem of freedom in light of the omnipresence of social injustice, he turned to history—and to Marx.

It has been said that all great philosophies can be summarized in one sentence. For Socrates: "Know thyself." For Descartes: "I think, therefore I am." For Hegel: the unity of substance and subject. For Kierkegaard: "Truth is subjectivity." For Levinas it would be: ethics as first philosophy.

In 1928 Levinas traveled to Freiburg to study with Husserl. But his enthusiasm for the author of *Philosophy as a Rigorous Science* waned quickly. In Levinas's view Husserl's philosophy, like that of Descartes, remained too beholden to the paradigm of the ego, or "consciousness." What interested Levinas was a series of existential concerns that transpired outside the parameters of consciousness. Soon he was introduced to Heidegger, and his allegiances shifted entirely. As Levinas put it: "I had the impression that I went [to Freiburg] thinking to visit Husserl and found Heidegger instead."

In Heidegger Levinas encountered a richness and philosophical daring that were otherwise wanting in contemporary thought. With Heidegger, philosophy transcended the self-referential confines of "consciousness" and acceded to the planes of "life" and "world." Levinas felt that Husserl's phenomenology remained wedded to the arid rationalism of the reigning neo-Kantianism. As such, it was narrowly focused on perception and cognition. With Heidegger's philosophy, conversely, there was talk of "everydayness," "authenticity," "historicity" and "Being-towards-death." Levinas found these topics highly stimulating—as did an entire generation of German youth who, upon hearing "the rumor of the hidden King," flocked to attend Heidegger's lectures. In order to keep the throngs of eager students at bay, Heidegger often had to hold his classes at 7 AM.

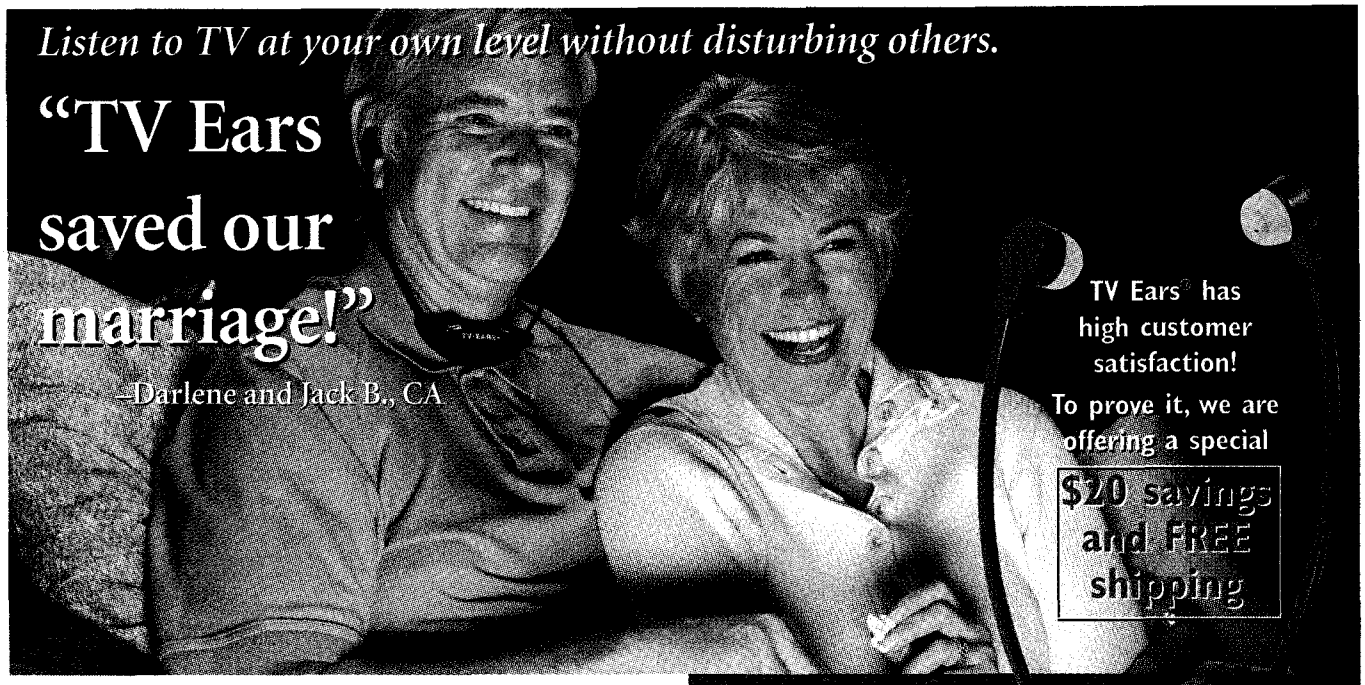
The young Levinas thought of himself as an orthodox Heideggerian. He attended the famous 1929 Davos debate between Heidegger and Ernst Cassirer, and enthusiastically applauded Heidegger's triumph. For many, it signaled the passing of the baton from a staid neo-Kantianism to Heidegger's invigorating brand of existentialism. During the early 1930s, Levinas wrote several pathbreaking articles on Heidegger's philosophy. In one of them he enthused: "No one who has ever done philosophy can keep himself from declaring, before the Heideggerian corpus, that the originality and power of his effort, born of genius, have allied themselves with a conscientious, meticulous, and solid elaboration." Having recently finished his dissertation on Hus-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Listen to TV at your own level without disturbing others.

"TV Ears saved our marriage!"

—Darlene and Jack B., CA



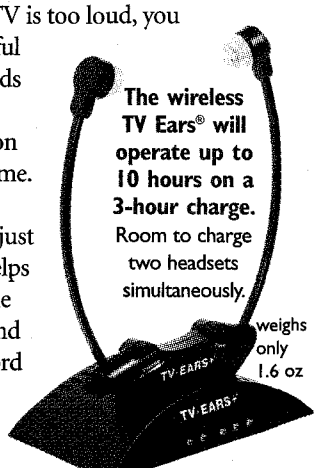
TV Ears® has high customer satisfaction!

To prove it, we are offering a special

$20 savings and FREE shipping

TV Ears® has helped thousands of people hear television clearly without turning up the volume.

More than 28 million Americans have some degree of hearing loss. If you struggle to hear TV, or family members complain the TV is too loud, you need TV Ears®! TV Ears® is a powerful new device that has helped thousands of people with mild, moderate, or severe hearing loss hear the television clearly without turning up the volume. Now you can listen to television at your own level while others may adjust the volume to fit theirs. TV Ears® helps you hear every word clearly. Imagine watching your favorite programs, and actually being able to hear every word and sound—it will change your life! If you are dealing with the frustration and arguments that come with turning up your TV volume too loud…read on.



The wireless TV Ears® will operate up to 10 hours on a 3-hour charge. Room to charge two headsets simultaneously.

weighs only 1.6 oz

From George Dennis, president and founder of TV Ears, Inc.

"The inspiration for TV Ears® was based on the well-known statistic that nearly 80% of people with hearing loss go undiagnosed and untreated for a variety of reasons which may include vanity or cost of treatment. TV Ears® has proven to be an appealing product to the average person and an excellent introduction to those seeking improved hearing health."

Hear every word with today's technology!

- **Television Audio Processing.** (TAP) The transmitter processes the audio from your TV or other audio devices and amplifies regular dialogue, hard to hear voices, and whispers.
- **Automatic Volume Control.** (AVC) Selectively compresses loud bursts of volume that are annoying when watching a program, channel surfing, or during commercials.
- **Infrared technology.** TV Ears' infrared technology provides safe, superior sound quality without interference and frequency drifting. Transmits up to 900 square feet.
- **Left-Right balance control.** Allows you to adjust the volume for rich, high-quality sound in both ears.
- **Individual controls.** Multiple headsets can be adjusted to the user's personal needs.
- **Long-lasting charge.** You can quickly charge two headsets at the same time, and TV-Ears will function up to 10 hours on a 3-hour charge. Charger included.

TV Ears® is powerful (120 dB), and features voice enhancement technology to make hard to hear words easier to understand and background sounds are kept in the background. The cheaper, commercial headsets are limited in output and amplify all sound at the same level.

"Now my husband can have the volume as loud as he needs…and I can have the TV on "Mute" or at my hearing level. "TV Ears" are so uncumbersome that Jack forgets he has them on! We take them to the movie theater and he can once again hear and understand the dialogue. We have given "TV Ears" as a gift to dear friends. They are absolutely the finest product." Sincerely

— Darlene and Jack B., CA

Try them yourself! If you aren't totally amazed…send them back! We're so sure you'll be absolutely astonished with the increase in sound and clarity when using the TV Ears®, that we're backing them with *first*STREET's exclusive in-home 90-day trial. If you aren't completely satisfied, simply return them for the product purchase price.

TV Ears® Item# 3P-3874 Regular price of $169.95,

***Now only…3 credit card payments of $49.95 each**

Special FREE shipping - a $17.95 Value

Free shipping within the contiguous 48 states Only.

Ask about our special price on additional headsets

Please mention promotional code 31000.

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day

866-254-4708

To order by mail, please call for details, or go to

www.tvearsdirect.com

*first*STREET®
SEE IT HERE FIRST
formerly TechnoScout®

1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

41279 All rights reserved. © 2005 *first*STREET®, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

serl's theory of intuition, Levinas planned to write a book on Heidegger.

Heidegger's entry into the Nazi Party on May 1, 1933, changed all that. Heidegger had succumbed to the delusion that he could "lead the leader" (*den Führer führen*)—that he could play philosopher-king to Germany's resident tyrant, Adolf Hitler. In this respect, Heidegger showed himself to be *plus royaliste que le roi*. He went on the stump for Hitler, declaring, "Do not let doctrines and ideas be the rules of your Being. The Führer himself and he alone is the present and future German reality and its law." Soon he realized the error of his ways: The Nazi Revolution was not destined to make the world safe for "Being," as Heidegger had hoped. Still, there are political errors a philosopher can make that implore forgiveness; then there is another, unforgivable kind. Heidegger's enthusiasm for Germany's Brown Revolution—a loyalty he refused to renounce—was of the latter variety.

In light of Heidegger's commitment to Nazism, Levinas felt compelled to reassess his earlier, impassioned Heideggerianism. The problem was not merely that Heidegger the empirical individual had become a Nazi. It was that he felt compelled to justify his political choice in an idiom drawn from his own singular brand of *Existenzphilosophie*. The entire process led to a certain attitudinal schizophrenia on Levinas's part. On the one hand, he felt that certain Heideggerian insights, such as the critique of the standpoint of the transcendental "subject," remained valuable. On the other hand, given Heidegger's intellectual proximity to Nazism, Levinas simultaneously sensed that the philosophy was rotten to the core.

Levinas sought to resolve or work through the problem in stages. In a 1934 essay "Reflections on the Philosophy of Hitlerism," he condemned Nazism as a form of neopaganism that threatened the West's Judeo-Christian traditions. One of the article's targets was Heidegger, who early on had renounced Christianity and remained an avowed atheist. Later on, Levinas arrived at a deeper, more sweeping insight into the filiations between Nazism and Western thought in general. After the war, gruesome revelations about the death camps—in which most of Levinas's own extended family perished—provoked him to reassess the Western tradition in toto. Why was it, he inquired, that Western philosophy, despite its manifest sublimity and grandeur, could do nothing to prevent the genocidal mania of the Nazis? Especially damning, in Levinas's view, was the realization that in the face of the radical evil of Nazism, Western thought had demonstrated its own comprehensive impotence.

Levinas's reflections on these dilemmas developed into a wide-ranging indictment of the Western philosophical tradition. The basic problem was that, from time immemorial, metaphysics had privileged "ontology"—the study of Being, or of what things essentially "are"—over ethics. In other words, our most intimate and valued philosophical traditions have cared more about "beings" and how to define them than about our ethical dealings with fellow humans. The watchword of Levinas's mature philosophy, "ethics as first philosophy," sought to remedy the gross injustice entailed by the West's privileging of "theoretical reason" over moral concerns. Beginning with the Greeks, the West had embarked on a false path. Levinas sought to repose the question of "Athens versus Jerusalem," philosophy versus theology. By opting for Athens, or "ontology," the West, to its detriment, had demoted the importance of the biblical tradition in which, conversely, ethical commandments—Moses' receipt of the Ten Commandments at Sinai; Jesus' injunction to "love thy neighbor as thyself"—received pride of place.

Levinas, for all his efforts to distance himself from Heidegger's errors, may have enmeshed himself more deeply in the master's approach.

Through his conception of ethics as first philosophy, Levinas sought to redress this pervasive and debilitating imbalance. He discovered another important source of ethical inspiration in Dostoyevsky's novels, which pit the spiritual power of "love," or *caritas*, against reason's instrumentalizing effects.

For Levinas, ethics derives from the claims of the Other, or *l'Autrui*. The centerpiece of his mature thought is the idea of the "face of the Other." In Levinas's view the face of the Other confronts us with an "infinite" moral claim, one that is anterior to all theoretical or intellectual judgments. He uses a series of dramatic metaphors—he frequently speaks of the Other's "nakedness" and "destitution"—to drive home the point that he or she stands totally at our mercy. To dramatize that our debt to the Other is essentially unsatisfiable, Levinas frequently cites an unsettling maxim from *The Brothers Karamazov*: "Each of us is guilty before the other for everything, and I more than any." Since, given our intrinsic limitations as finite beings, we can never entirely satisfy the Other's claims, at issue is a relationship of "infinity," or "transcendence." Theoretical reason, conversely, aims at a type of totalizing comprehension, or "closure," that Levinas belittles as "totality." It is incurably egocentric and proceeds by reducing the Other to Sameness—in Levinas's idiom, "ipseity." Thus the animating opposition of his 1961 masterwork: "Totality" versus "Infinity."

But the limitations of Levinas's method also need to be highlighted. For in attempting concertedly to distance his philosophy from Heidegger's errors, he may have enmeshed himself more deeply in the Freiburg philosopher's approach. Levinas's indictment of reason as "totalizing" betrays uncanny affinities with Heidegger's later thought, which was also predicated on a rejection of reason as a form of domination *simpliciter*. And in both cases, the vilification of reason goes too far. In the annals of Western thought, reason has always contained strong utopian aspirations. It promises a rectification of social injustice, a righting of wrongs. The radical critique of reason that both Levinas and Heidegger advocate risks rendering social criticism impotent. For without reason's capacity to make significant distinctions and cogent judgments, we would be deprived of the conceptual means of our own emancipation. We would stand speechless and impotent. Moreover, were their own philosophies to disregard communicative reason entirely, they would be unintelligible—in which case they would be, frankly, quite useless.

Moral reasoning provides us with a strong incentive to act in the world and to remedy oppression. Levinas's quasi-mystical veneration of Otherness, conversely, resembles an "epiphany." But it is nearly impossible to translate an epiphany into meaningful political action. As an experience of transcendence, an epiphany cannot be made into an object of legislation. Moreover, with Levinas, indebtedness to the Other becomes a relationship of exclusivity to the extent that it becomes physically and emotionally impossible to assume loyalty to multiple others. For these reasons, it is next to impossible to derive a meaningful politics from his ethical doctrines. Levinas confirms this suspicion when in *Totality and Infinity* he declares, "Politics left to itself bears a tyranny within itself." His messianic reverence for Otherness denigrates all other forms of action, including political involvement, as sordidly "instrumental." As such, it steadfastly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

resists generalization and leaves us in a type of political paralysis.

In his refreshingly lucid study *Origins of the Other*, Samuel Moyn aptly characterizes Levinas's approach to ethics as "crypto-theological." By this term Moyn highlights Levinas's intrinsic ambivalence concerning the tension between his secular, phenomenological intentions and his covert eschatological aspirations. In response to the mood of profound cultural despair provoked by World War I, the 1920s witnessed a major theological revival. It is this phenomenon, Moyn contends, that formed the crucible for Levinas's distinctive approach to ethics.

One of the virtues of Moyn's book is that he discovers the origins of Levinas's notion of Otherness where few before him have thought to look. Previous commentators have assumed that the major catalyst for Levinas's thinly veiled theological ethics was Franz Rosenzweig's so-called New Thinking, epitomized by his 1921 classic *The Star of Redemption*. But Moyn points out that Levinas never read Rosenzweig until the mid-1930s. Secondly, whereas Rosenzweig insists that we can gain something akin to reliable theological "knowledge," Levinas's notion of the Other expressly shuns cognitive methods and pretensions. Instead, the face of the Other possesses the status of a revelation: It mandates a prediscursive, wholly transcendent ethical claim.

In order to decipher the "origins of the Other," Moyn suggests we examine instead the 1920s German Kierkegaard revival, as represented by Karl Barth's "dialectical theology." We know that Levinas avidly read Barth during the 1920s and '30s. In steadfast opposition to the secularizing vogue of historical biblical criticism, Barth reconceived divinity, in Moyn's words, as "qualitatively different from finite, everyday objects." As "Other," God is "'transcendent' and opposed to the immanent." As Moyn perceptively concludes: Despite the philosopher's manifold protestations to the contrary, "Levinas may never have given up the habit—the hankering for God's command that he merely internalized to the human realm—of theology."

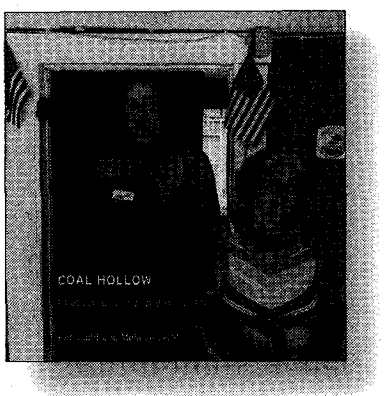
Philosophically, Levinas has been accurately described as the "anti-Sartre," and it is easy to see why. Whereas Levinas's philosophy idealizes Otherness, Sartre's thought inherently mistrusts it. In *Being and Nothingness* the Other signifies little more than a limitation or obstacle to the freedom of the For-Itself. In Sartre's view, the Other's gaze is inherently objectifying. It seeks to turn the For-Itself, or consciousness, into an In-Itself, or something inert. The literary pinnacle of Sartre's suspicion of the Other is the play *No Exit*, where the realization dawns that "hell is other people." Levinas's anti-Sartrean animus helps to account for some strange philosophical moves on his part—to wit, the exaggerated glorification of Otherness.

One of the reasons behind Levinas's immense popularity in France has to do with his copious writings on Jewish themes. Traditionally the French conception of citizenship has been rigorously assimilationist and thus unreceptive to considerations of "difference." The classical statement of this view coincided with revolutionary debates during the 1790s over whether or not Jews should be recognized as citizens. As one delegate, Clermont Tonnerre, expressed it: "We must refuse everything to the Jews as a nation and accord everything to Jews as individuals." In other words: The Jews are welcome to join us as long as they leave behind their particularity as Jews.

In the post-1968 years, however, this sentiment began to change. As has often been remarked, many ex-'68ers gravitated from Mao to Moses. Latching on to their long-repressed Jewish origins was a way of providing meaning and orientation once the wave of left-wing revolutionary fervor had subsided. The most celebrated example was former Maoist student leader (and Sartre confidant) Benny Lévy, who abandoned revolutionary politics for orthodox Judaism. Suddenly, assimilated French Jews, following the lead of North African Sephardic immigrants who had previously lived in self-enclosed religious communities, began to feel comfortable openly avowing their Jewish identities. Given the persecutions their families had endured at the hands of the Vichy regime, they felt they were entitled to recognition, not just as citizens but also as Jews.

Paradoxically, the new spirit of "Jewish communitarianism" found support in Levinas's approach, which had managed successfully to straddle the fence between two very different cultural spheres: the world of French academic philosophy and that of Jewish religious traditions. For one of Levinas's claims to distinction as a Jewish thinker was that he broke with prior generations of assimilated Jewish scholars—from Moses Mendelssohn to Hermann Cohen—who tried to demonstrate the compatibility of Jewish learning with the canons of European secular thought. Instead, Levinas's uniqueness lay in his attempt, by recourse to phenomenology, to translate Old Testament ethical precepts directly into

"America's coal industry remains a laboratory test for 'free market' capitalism and government's efforts to control it. The people who live in its midst, as captured here in words and pictures by Ken and Melanie Light, are obstinate, wounded, witty, profane, and defiantly human."
—JOHN SAYLES



Coal Hollow
Photographs and Oral Histories
BY KEN LIGHT AND MELANIE LIGHT
Forewords by Orville Schell and Robert B. Reich
Series in Contemporary Photography

$34.95 at bookstores or www.ucpress.edu

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

Wednesday, February 15
6:30pm

a conversation
on neoliberalism, culture war,
and the tragedy of the red states

Thomas Frank
What's the Matter With Kansas?

and respondent
David Harvey
The Graduate Center, CUNY
A Brief History of Neoliberalism

a free public lecture at
The Center for the Humanities
Proshansky Auditorium
Graduate Center, CUNY
365 Fifth Ave (btwn 34 &35)
212-817-2005

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

philosophy, while bypassing the Greek preoccupation with "first philosophy," or ontology. In this respect, his influence on a younger generation of Franco-Jewish intellectuals that had matured in the postwar years was inestimable. Both Benny Lévy (who died in 2003) and the omnipresent philosopher-essayist Alain Finkielkraut studied with Levinas. Lévy's final book, *Être juif* (*Being Jewish*), is a sustained engagement with Levinas's religious thought. Six years ago Lévy, Finkielkraut and Bernard-Henri Lévy, in a tribute to their late *maître*, established an Institute for Levinas Studies in Jerusalem.

Still, Moyn's well-placed suspicion that Levinas never abandoned his original theological habitudes and longings raises some troubling questions about the uncritical veneration that has characterized the reception of his work. As with Heidegger, Levinas's bloated rhetorical mode suggests privileged access to the ultimate truths of Being and existence. But this discursive posture is hardly conducive to open debate. Philosophy advances by the critical discussion and examination of truth claims. Instead, Levinas's writing encourages an attitude of submissive adulation. Not surprisingly, most of the thousands of articles and monographs that have appeared on his work display a fawning exegetical reverence. It is as though one were dealing with Holy Writ or Scripture rather than a work of secular thought. Nor do Levinas's proclamations concerning the "aristocratism of true knowledge" and the "necessity for a secret thought" inspire confidence in the democratic potentials of his philosophy. The Levinas reception seems terminally frozen in a quasi-adolescent cheerleader mode. As Nietzsche recognized, "One repays a teacher poorly if one remains a disciple." ■

The Race to War

DAVID LEVERING LEWIS

LOST BATTALIONS: The Great War and the Crisis of American Nationality.
By Richard Slotkin. Holt. 639 pp. $35.

Race has been the elephant in the room since the beginning, the creature around whom, as Tocqueville foresaw, a kind of *Herrenvolk* democracy in America was built. After the successful tax revolt against the British, all had seemed perfectly clear about who was an American citizen—white men were, Africans and Indians weren't. Yet in the decades after the Civil War, the meaning of citizenship, the exclusive privilege of free white men until the Fourteenth Amendment, grew far murkier. The descendants of Africans were slaves no more, yet the Protestant white majority viewed their emancipation as too problematic in reality for any solution other than white supremacy below the Mason-Dixon line and the finessing of racial equality in the constitutional doctrine of separate but equal.

Citizenship for Africans complicated citizenship for the new European immigrants streaming out of Ellis Island. The challenge of assimilating the new whites ("strangers in the land," in historian John Higham's memorable phrase) inspired comparable disquiet among the Anglo-Saxon elite. European newcomers found themselves stigmatized by the same citizenship stereotypes that "old stock" Americans foisted on African-Americans. As Richard Slotkin observes in his massive new book *Lost Battalions: The Great War and the Crisis of American Nationality*, "likeness to the Negro (or the Indian) was the sign that native-born Americans always used to declare a new immigrant group beyond the pale of equal citizenship." Not surprisingly, immigrant groups learned almost overnight to distance themselves from black people and to interiorize mainstream society's race prejudice.

By the first decade of the American Century, the immigrant conveyor belt had turned an Anglo-Protestant land of farmers, mechanics, traders and merchants into a polyglot beehive of low-wage industrial toilers who fueled, then as now, the world's most powerful economy. Much of the Progressive leadership, applying itself to municipal reform, merit-based government service and moral uplift, saw a fatal point of no return fast approaching in the vital matter of national character. The Melting Pot was predicted to be but so many degrees away from its melting point. Disparaged as "dingy" whites, the newcomers seemed to multiply like kudzu in dark, festering ghettos where city machines owned every poor man's vote. Ten years into the new century, well-financed, powerfully connected nativist organizations dedicated to preserving an America purged of runaway hyphenation—like the Immigration Restriction League (IRL), the Anglo-Saxon League and the American Eugenics Association—flourished.

Charged by Congress with investigating the facts of immigration, the 1911 Dillingham Commission trolled reams of records and observed thousands of Ellis Island immigrants to produce a report of surpassing ominousness. It found the great majority of Jews to be feebleminded, Italians to be criminals and other "races" (of which some fifty were enumerated) to be carriers of disease and bearers of suspect mores. The intelligence test developed by Stanford University's Lewis Terman was accepted nationwide as scientifically ascertaining the inborn mental aptitudes of groups as well as individuals: the newer the immigrant group and the darker the "race," the lower the IQ. This book's revelation that a group of Chicago politicians scored in the "moron" range may have corroborated the Stanford-Binet's "objectivity" in the public's mind.

The dissenting multiculturalist voices of W.E.B. Du Bois, Horace Kallen, Randolph Bourne, the Hapgood brothers and Waldo Frank were drowned out by the cacophony of hyper-nationalism that set the stage for America's intervention in World War I. As Boston Brahmins and Roosevelt Progressives ordered officers' uniforms from Brooks Brothers, they were prey to massive doubts about the men they had to beat into shape for battlefield slaughter. No better than the Negroes, the hyphenated Americans had "none of the ideas and aptitudes which fit men to take up readily and easily the problem of self-care and self-government," IRL men fretted in the spring of 1917 as President Wilson's war commenced. That same year, Congress overrode Wilson's veto and imposed the first immigration literacy test.

In *Lost Battalions*, a work of stunning density and penetrating analysis, Slotkin, the Olin Professor of English and American Studies at Wesleyan University, has achieved something of a breakthrough in his synoptic coverage of the political economy of race, ethnicity, class

David Levering Lewis, author of When Harlem Was in Vogue *and a Pulitzer Prize–winning two-volume biography of W.E.B. Du Bois, teaches history at NYU.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Erase Wrinkles Without Botox®*!

Breakthrough anti-aging cream combines three scientifically advanced wrinkle-reducing ingredients to rival the results of Botox®.*

In recent years Botox®* has been promoted as the leader of anti-wrinkle treatments. Although it can be successful, it is very expensive, painful, must be administered by a physician, and, in many cases, two to three treatments are needed for the desired corrections. After years of research and testing, a new safe, more affordable product offering comparable results is now available.

Most Advanced Anti-Aging Product Available

Hydroxatone™ is a true, clinically proven Botox®* alternative. It is a superior facial cream that can reduce deep wrinkles, and it's completely non-toxic, safe and has no side effects. How can it rival Botox®*? Hydroxatone™ contains three of the most effective substances known that are needed for real results. Most products use one or two of these important ingredients, but the makers of Hydroxatone™ are the first to combine all three, resulting in the most advanced skin care and wrinkle reducer on the market.

Why Choose Hydroxatone™

PRODUCT	Hydroxatone™	Olay® Regenerist†	Strivectin SD®**
Argireline® Acetyl Hexapeptide 3	YES	NO	NO
Matrixyl™ 3000‡	YES	NO	NO
Hyaluronic Acid	YES	NO	NO

THREE Proven Wrinkle-Reducing Ingredients

Hydroxatone™ is unlike any other skin cream you've ever tried because it relies on THREE proven ingredients for REAL results. Matrixyl™ 3000‡ is clinically proven to promote collagen production in the skin. Collagen is the most powerful substance known to help keep skin stay young, soft and vibrant. Argireline® is a combination of amino acids formulated to relax facial wrinkles, reduce the degree of existing wrinkles and stop their future development. And Hyaluronic Acid is virtually unmatched in hydrating the skin, resulting in increased smoothness, softening, elasticity and decreased facial wrinkles. But Hydroxatone™ doesn't stop there! It also includes other natural antioxidants, botanicals, vitamins, and peptides and a gentle but powerful exfoliant...all to nourish your skin while fading wrinkles.

Up To 68% Reduction Of Deep Wrinkles

Unless you've actually tried Hydroxatone™, it's hard to imagine it can work the miracles users claim it does. But women and men of all ages are using Hydroxatone™ and seeing real and noticeable results every day. The cumulative results that are seen within two weeks will continue with daily use. Over six months this will increase to as much as 68% reduction in deep wrinkles.

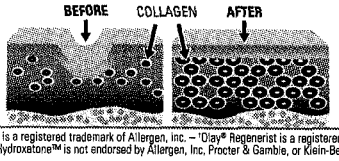
There Is No Comparison

Forget Botox®* or any other radical and dangerous treatments. Throw out other creams that simply don't work. Hydroxatone™ is a proven anti-wrinkle cream that is completely safe and clinically proven. Within two weeks Hydroxatone™ users will start to see results. With continued use, their skin will become softer, smoother, more radiant, and younger-looking...and that's GUARANTEED.

HOW HYDROXATONE™ WORKS

MATRIXYL™ 3000‡ + ARGIRELINE® + HYALURONIC ACID

- 68% reduction of deep wrinkles in just six months
- Diminished age spots & increased suppleness
- Enhanced production of healthy, radiant new skin
- Tightened and toned skin



Matrixyl™ 3000‡ – is clinically proven to promote collagen production in the skin.

Argireline® – is a combination of amino acids formulated to relax facial wrinkles, reduce the degree of existing wrinkles and stop their future development.

Hyaluronic Acid – is virtually unmatched in hydrating the skin, resulting in increased smoothness, softening, elasticity and decreased facial wrinkles.

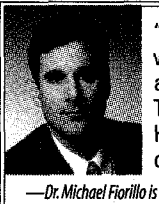
*Botox® is a registered trademark of Allergen, Inc. – †Olay® Regenerist is a registered trademark of Procter & Gamble. – **Strivectin SD® is a registered trademark of Klein-Becker IP Holdings, LLC. – Hydroxatone™ is not endorsed by Allergen, Inc, Procter & Gamble, or Klein-Becker IP Holdings, LLC. – ‡Matrixyl™ 3000 is a registered trademark of Sederma S.A.S.

What Our Customers Have To Say About Hydroxatone™...

"Within two weeks of using Hydroxatone™, I was getting compliments on my skin from friends and co-workers. My skin not only feels great, but it looks great too! You've made me a Hydroxatone™ believer!"

— Robin B., Los Angeles

Results not typical

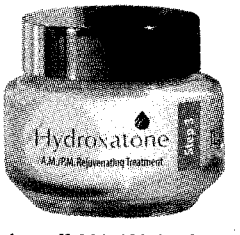


"I talk to so many women who would do almost anything to look younger. That is why I recommend Hydroxatone™ to so many of my patients."

—Dr. Michael Fiorillo is a world renowned board certified plastic and reconstructive surgeon and codeveloper of Hydroxatone™.

Having A Hard Time Finding Hydroxatone™?

For years consumers have only had expensive and ineffective alternatives to achieve younger looking skin. You may have seen other inferior anti-wrinkle products costing hundreds of dollars at some high priced salons. Unlike those pricey and unproven alternatives, the manufacturer of Hydroxatone™ is so confident in their anti-aging technology that they are offering a 30-day risk free trial offer...because seeing is believing!



To get your supply of Hydroxatone™ risk free, for just a small s&h fee call 800-480-0682. Our operators are available to let you try one of the greatest breakthroughs in wrinkle fighting technology without spending hundreds of dollars.

Call 800-480-0682 to get your Hydroxatone™ 30-Day Risk Free Trial Offer Today!

Mention Promotion Code 2HNN1J for a Free Platinum Upgrade!

www.hydroxatonedirect.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and gender as America came of a certain age. The book tells the story of two Army regiments of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF)—the black 369th and the hyphenated 308th. By skin color and national origin, the regiments symbolize, for Slotkin, the identity crises of a democracy at war—and at war with itself. Cynosures of a nation's civic character, the battalions are "lost" in the ultimate sense that their rightful place in the social contract is either denied or blocked by the WASP establishment. "Thus the central paradox of American nationality," writes Slotkin, "the conflict around which national politics would develop, was its official commitment to an ideology of civic nationality—most clearly embodied in the Declaration of Independence—while at the same time its social practice excluded from citizenship rights all those who fell on the dark side of the color line."

The Teddy Roosevelt of "privileged violence," masterfully profiled in Slotkin's epic *Gunfighter Nation*, returns in *Lost Battalions* to rally his class to martial readiness at Plattsburgh and its branches across the country. Organized in May 1915 by a dozen or more lawyers and businessmen at the New York Harvard Club, the Plattsburgh military training movement (financed in part by Bernard Baruch and blessed by Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood) enrolled the sporting crowd at Yale, Princeton and Williams, and presented the War Department with a fine-tuned cohort of Anglo-Saxon paladins just in time to lead the nation's men to war. "Aggressive fighting for the right," Roosevelt bloviated, "is the noblest sport the world affords."

In a series of lively biographical profiles, Slotkin introduces the Plattsburghers and similar types as they take positions in the "Melting Pot" 77th Division at New York's Camp Upton. Maj. Charles Whittlesey of Williams and Harvard, a Wall Street lawyer with socialist loyalties and Hamlet's temperament, will lead the immigrant 77th Division's 308th Infantry Battalion to fame and a Medal of Honor for himself. Capt. George McMurtry, son of an Irish-born robber baron, polo-playing Harvard man and Rough Rider veteran, serves as Whittlesey's second. Lieut. Julius Ochs Adler (Princeton '14), nephew of *New York Times* owner Adolph Ochs, is a rare Jewish Plattsburgher who fields both a Purple Heart and a Silver Star. The 77th boasted some of the best men from the table at Delmonico's, and a wag cracked that the problem with the division was that its officers came from "below Fulton Street and all the men from above it." In his book *Paths of Glory*, Irvin Cobb, one of the South's most popular wordsmiths, demeaned the Camp Upton conscripts as "a huddle of unhappy aliens, speaking in alien tongues, and knowing little of the cause for which they must fight, and possibly caring less."

Upper-crust Jews, represented by the American Jewish Congress and the *American Hebrew*, generally responded positively to Roosevelt's "strenuous life" incantations. In the words of one prominent rabbi, Jews needed to be "trained to be heroic." Congressman Victor Berger and the pacifist Debsian socialists did not speak for rabbi Stephen Wise or financier Jacob Schiff. The noblesse oblige of people of color who boasted family, education, professional accomplishment and commitment to racial uplift mirrored that of the Anglo upper crust. Like the Uptown Jews, Du Bois's Talented Tenth (the black equivalents of the Plattsburghers) accepted the war as a splendid opportunity to display the virtues of manhood and national solidarity. How wide the door of opportunity might open was uncertain. The War Department and a great many white Americans preferred that Negroes be confined to labor brigades and barred altogether from fighting.

Du Bois's Talented Tenth accepted the war as a splendid opportunity to display the virtues of manhood and national solidarity.

It is here that *Lost Battalions* deploys a narrative symmetry of gratifying complexity. If the intraracial controversy over unconditional participation in the war is somewhat underplayed (one misses Du Bois's fiery nemesis, William Monroe Trotter, who lambasted the degrading treatment of black soldiers in the Army), Slotkin's main story is properly the Talented Tenth wager that citizenship can be bought with blood—that manly, unquestioning sacrifice befits a race applying for full entry into the white Republic. True enough, White House silence after the race riot in East St. Louis, a veritable pogrom less than three months after the declaration of war, enraged the race's leaders. But the deal brokered by Roosevelt's Plattsburghers with the reluctant War Department for 1,000 black men commissioned at Iowa's Camp Des Moines, the reasonable expectation of a "Roosevelt Division" commanded by colored West Pointer Charles Young and the promise of a captain's commission in military intelligence for Du Bois carried the day for war. Harlem's 15th Infantry Regiment was attached to a never fully assembled Negro 93rd Division at Camp Des Moines.

Volunteered service was the "strongest argument and the noblest appeal for political and economic rights," Adam Clayton Powell Sr. sermonized. With one breath, W.E.B. Du Bois, socialist and pacifist, cried out from the pages of the NAACP's *Crisis* magazine in the fall of 1917 that "no land that loves to lynch 'niggers' can lead the hosts of Almighty God." Yet in another breath the next year, in "Close Ranks," the most famous of his many compelling editorials, he summoned his people to the colors unconditionally: "Let us while this war lasts, forget our special grievances and close our ranks shoulder to shoulder with our white fellow citizens." A thousand Negro officers marching the race across the Western Front into civic respectability finally beguiled all but the young A. Philip Randolph and a handful of skeptics. Civil rights can be addressed after victory, Frederick Douglass's officer son promised.

Woodrow Wilson's War Department rigged the game from the beginning: Units were not to be commanded by black officers at rank above captain; no new black field-grade officers would be commissioned; one-third of the black men commissioned at Des Moines were to be selected from noncommissioned regulars (many barely literate). Lieutenant Colonel Young's removal from active duty and his forced retirement on questionable medical grounds even as Du Bois's "Close Ranks" appeared not only mocked the aspirations of the black would-be Plattsburghers but signaled unmistakably a quasi-official military design to disparage a race. *Lost Battalions* relates this staple story without endorsing what this reviewer believes a contextualized reading of the evidence confirms to have been an institutional conspiracy.

Harlem's 15th Infantry Regiment of the New York National Guard (the US 369th) left Camp Des Moines minimally trained and badly equipped, with near race riots dogging its course until it sailed for Europe, among the first American units to see action. None of the 15th's original ranking officers kept their positions. The very image of Plattsburghers—regimental Col. Charles Fillmore, who had years of military experience, and Vertner Tandy (MIT), an accomplished architect—accepted demotion to stand along with Capt. Napoleon Bonaparte Marshall (Exeter, Howard, Harvard Law) and well-known band leader Lieut. James Reese Europe. Only one or two of the 369th's white officers were Plattsbur-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ghers: the rich Capt. Hamilton Fish Jr., a Secretary of State's great-grandson (Harvard '10); and regimental Col. William Hayward, a senator's son and politically well-connected Manhattan lawyer, whose matinee-idol looks graced the cover of *The Saturday Evening Post*. Maj. Arthur Little's social background seems to have been merely respectable, but he had more than a decade of National Guard service and went on to write a valuable memoir, *From Harlem to the Rhine*. Even though white officers led the 369th by virtue of racist policy, Hayward, Little and their fellow whites were savvy enough to cultivate the respect of a population of enlisted men distinguished by the likes of Bill "Bojangles" Robinson, Eubie Blake, Noble Sissle and Horace Pippin. Private Pippin's vivid yet barely literate notebooks serve as *Lost Battalions*'s best primary source for the enlisted man's view of the war.

The War Department lent the 369th to the French Fourth Army and gladly forgot about the unit until its spectacular performance during 191 days under German fire, a shower of Croix de Guerre and the fabulous capture of a dozen or more Germans by privates Henry Johnson and Needham Roberts made official notice unavoidable. "Now is our opportunity to prove what we can do," Du Bois boasted in *Crisis*. But that was exactly what concerned the Southern whites who dominated the Army's officer corps. Slotkin discloses the cynical news that "in the midst of the July fighting, Pershing's headquarters ordered all of the Black officers in the 369th transferred and replaced by White." An exception was made for Lieutenant Europe, the band master. The French High Command honored the regiment as the first Allied unit chosen to lead the march to the Rhine at war's end. The American High Command excluded the 369th, along with all black soldiers, from marching with US forces in the victory parade on the Champs Elysées. On the War Department's adamant insistence, no African-Americans were to be depicted in the heroic frieze in France's Panthéon de la Guerre. On a post-Armistice NAACP inspection tour, Du Bois discovered and published the US Army's secret communiqué advising French military and civilian authorities to respect the segregationist practices of white Americans when dealing with black Americans. So much for Woodrow Wilson's 1918 promise to black people: "Out of this conflict you need expect nothing less than the enjoyment of full citizenship rights—the same as are enjoyed by every other citizen."

Slotkin's reconstruction of the 308th Infantry Battalion's free-fall into glory offers a mountain of evidence in support of Clemenceau's axiom that the business of war is too serious to be left to generals. With domestic politics and military pride in play, General Pershing launched the AEF's long-awaited offensive in the Meuse-Argonne sector in late September 1918. As Slotkin writes, "Pershing's own calculations were wrong in nearly every respect," and whatever could go wrong did. Major Whittlesey's Irish, Italians, Jews, Slavs and three Chinese were surrounded by German storm troopers at a place called Charlevaux Mill. Pulverized by "friendly" fire, bonding across lines of class and ethnicity in muddy trenches and reduced from 675 to 200 men, the "lost battalion" was rescued in the eleventh hour when Abe Krotoshinsky, a diminutive Polish Jew, crawled past the Germans and returned with a relief force. As reported by the press, Whittlesey's polite refusal of German surrender terms became "Go to hell!" Charlevaux Mill became another Alamo or San Juan Hill, and Krotoshinsky was awarded the Croix de Guerre and the Distinguished Service Cross. The *New York Globe* editorialized superciliously that "by a clever alchemy America transmutes blighted raw

Knowledge Advancing Social Justice

If you don't like the way things are – CHANGE them.

M.A./Sustainable International Development

M.S./International Health Policy and Management

M.B.A.: *Managing for a Social Mission*

Brandeis University
The Heller School for Social Policy and Management

781.736.2763 Tel
781.736.2774 Fax
HellerMasters@Brandeis.edu

Join students from over 60 countries committed to making a difference. Please visit our website at www.heller.brandeis.edu/masters

Heller processes applications on a rolling basis. Generous financial aid for 2006 is available.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An idea whose time has come

www.ProtestWorks.com
or write:POB 424906, S.F. CA 94142

Patriot Act Blues
Howard Glazer rocks against the right

Random Chance
Blues Jazz & Whatever
www.randomchancerecords.com
a cd single whose time has come order online

Voodoo Dolls handmade!
Personal.
Political.
Custom or Bush and Cheney.
1 for $10, 2 for $15
Checks/Money orders.
Ms. Amelia. P.O. Box 922 Kingston, WA 98346

INSIDE HIGHER ED
Intelligence on higher education. Daily. Free.
insidehighered.com

CRUISE BY FREIGHTER
TravLtips
Worldwide. First Class Relaxing. Reasonable
e-mail: info@travltips.com
800-872-8584 www.travltips.com

No Need for an Up or Down Vote.
It's Always your Right to Choose pair Networks.
The Choice is Yours. Not the Senate's. Not the President's.
Choose a Web hosting company that will take care of you and your Web site.
There's no filibustering needed when it comes to choosing pair Networks — high-quality Web hosting at a fair price.
pair
www.pair.com

material into men." Yet hardly had the guns fallen silent on the Western front than *Literary Digest* warned that the Melting Pot "has proved...a delusion and a snare."

Slotkin's splendid narrative presses on with the saga of nationality and race for many more pages beyond the Great War to the civil rights era: to the Red Scare and the convergence of anticommunism and anti-Semitism; to the Red Summer of ubiquitous race riots and the emergence of the "New Negro"; to the victory of reactionary nativism in the passage of the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act of 1924; to quotas for Jews and segregation of blacks in elite universities. The political climate of the 1920s drove Krotoshinksy to Palestine for a time. Whittlesey left no suicide note, yet somehow we understand why he chose death over living as an exploited symbol. The 369th returned home to a fine parade up Fifth Avenue and disappearance from memory, along with heroes Johnson and Needham, who faded into impoverished obscurity. African-Americans never forgot the valor of the 369th Hell Fighters, but they also remembered, as World War II approached, that their country betrayed the promise by which Du Bois and others had believed full citizenship would come.

Lost Battalions ends with a qualifiedly positive answer to its own crucial question: whether "a 'nation of nations' can maintain itself as a nation-state." By the end of the Great Depression, most of the ethnics had entered the American mainstream as full-fledged whites. Nine years after World War II, African-Americans resumed their interrupted march to full citizenship with *Brown v. Board of Education*. And yet the rediscovery of race has become the perennial surprise of our public life. Whatever the controlling fictions of the moment—remedied at law, solved by integration, submerged in diversity, transcended by color-blindness, supplanted by class—the Du Boisian problem of the twentieth century repeatedly asserts itself as an aggrieved, shameful and increasingly toxic presence even in this new century. Presidential elections are vitiated by de facto intimidation and systemic exclusion of people of color. Natural disasters morph into Homeric catastrophes of the adjourned national commitment to equal opportunity. At one point in his teeming narrative, Slotkin observes that the Hell Fighters and the Lost Battalion "continued to fight the same war on separate battlefields." For African-Americans, the war continues. ■

The Facts

TERRY EAGLETON

ARTHUR & GEORGE. By Julian Barnes. Knopf. 385 pp. $24.95.

Julian Barnes's new novel, *Arthur & George*, which was shortlisted for Britain's most prestigious literary prize but failed to win it, links a celebrated historical figure with an unknown one. Arthur is Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, physician, knight of the realm and creator of detective Sherlock Holmes. George is the utterly obscure but equally real-life George Edalji, son of a late-Victorian Church of England vicar from Bombay. Both of Barnes's leading characters, then, are in Doyle's phrase "unofficial Englishmen"—ethnic hybrids with one foot in and one foot out of the Establishment. Arthur is a renowned public figure with an interest in the paranormal and a disreputable father; George is a conventionally minded Englishman of Parsee stock.

Conan Doyle was the son of a feckless Edinburgh alcoholic and raconteur who met his squalid end in a lunatic asylum. Doyle's background was artistic and bohemian, with a dash of both Scots and Irish. This offbeat pedigree was to take the form of a consuming interest in the occult, despite his hardheaded scientific training. ("Scottish practicality streaked with sudden fire" is how his sister fondly thinks of him.) It is intriguing that Doyle bestowed an Irish surname on Sherlock Holmes's deadly rival, the sinister Professor Moriarty, who may be evil but who, unlike most Irish characters in Victorian fiction, does not fall over every five minutes shouting "Bejasus!"

George Edalji was born of an Indian father who in time-honored émigré fashion became more English than the English. His mother was a Scot, like Arthur's ancestors,

Terry Eagleton is professor of cultural theory and John Rylands Fellow at the University of Manchester, England. His new book, Holy Terror, *has just been published by Oxford.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and he was raised in a morally straitlaced Anglican vicarage with dreams of imperial grandeur. There is a touch of the Brontë sisters about this setup. After all, the Brontës were the daughters of a penniless Irish immigrant who turned himself into an English clerical gent as morally unbending as George's father. Whereas Arthur's head is stuffed with chivalry and romance, the impeccably bourgeois George, who becomes a lawyer, publishes a book with the enthralling title *Railway Law*.

The story this novel has to tell of George is that of his relentless, subtly vicious persecution by anonymous figures in his Midlands community. This harrowing nightmare is rendered all the more powerful by the level, dispassionate tones in which Barnes recounts it. Hoaxes, obscene letters, unwanted deliveries of useless articles, police harassment: All of this, which George in his respectable middle-class way steadfastly refuses to attribute to racism, culminates in his being framed for mutilating cattle and sentenced to penal servitude for seven years. At this point in the novel, the separate careers of Arthur and George converge, as the former launches a campaign on behalf of the latter. An author's note informs us that "George Edalji died...on 17th June 1953; the cause of death was given as coronary thrombosis." The perpetrator of the cattle mutilations was never discovered.

And that, more or less, is that. *Arthur & George* is a beautifully crafted novel, as one would expect from a virtuoso like Barnes, who can make a rounded portrait out of a few sparse brush strokes. Arthur's dipsomaniac father "would be brought home, dribbling into his beard, by cabmen whose insistence on being paid would wake the children; the next morning he would lament at maudlin length his inability to support those he loved so tenderly." Thoroughly researched and meticulously detailed, the book brings alive the cultural ethos of late-Victorian Britain, a world of brickworks and vicarages, school cricket grounds and gentlemen's clubs. The child George is taught by his father that England is "the beating heart of the Empire," and that "the blood that flows through the arteries and veins of the Empire" is the Church of England.

Yet the book, for all its compulsive readability, is also curiously depthless. There is a gulf between its fine attention to historical detail and its rather inconsequential subject matter. The difference between documentation and fiction is not primarily one between the true and the imaginary. Novels can contain lots of historical facts and still be novels. It is a question of what they make of them. "Fiction" does not mean untrue: It means pressing actual facts into the service of some symbolic or conceptual pattern, so that they achieve a deeper resonance and come to speak of more than just themselves.

It is here that *Arthur & George* fails to deliver. It is not that the book does not try

EVENTS

ILLINOIS

Midwest Shelter for Homeless Veterans Benefit

■ Concerned liberals who want to help the homeless vets should come to our benefit! Featuring a dramatic reading of the Vietnam memoir *Place of Angels*. Monday, February 20, 7:30 PM, at Steppenwolf Theatre, 1650 N. Halsted, Chicago. $100, $200 VIP. Purchase tickets at www.helpaveteran.org. (773) 772-5272.

MASSACHUSETTS

Rethinking Marxism

■ October 26–28, University of Massachusetts-Amherst. Join Ernesto Laclau, Julie Graham, Stephen Resnick, Richard Wolff, Susan Buck-Morss, Kojin Karatani, Liza Featherstone, Stephen Cullenberg, David F. Ruccio, Susan Jahoda, Antonio Callari, Warren Montag, Sut Jhally and others in an international gathering of students, scholars and activists. The journal *Rethinking Marxism* invites proposals for videos, performances, papers and panels. Instructions for submitting proposals (deadline is August 1) and registration are available at www.rethinkingmarxism2006.org.

NEW YORK

The Future of Capitalism

■ The Robert L. Heilbroner Memorial Lecture on the future of capitalism. James K. Galbraith, "Modern Economic Predation: War, Corporate Fraud and the Cruel Chimera of Labor Market Reform," Monday, February 13, 7 PM. The New School for Social Research, Wolff Conference Room, 65 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Sponsored by the Bernard Schwartz Center for Economic Policy Analysis at the New School for Social Research. For more information, call (212) 229-5901 ext. 4911 or e-mail cepa@newschool.edu or www.newschool.edu/cepa. Free admission.

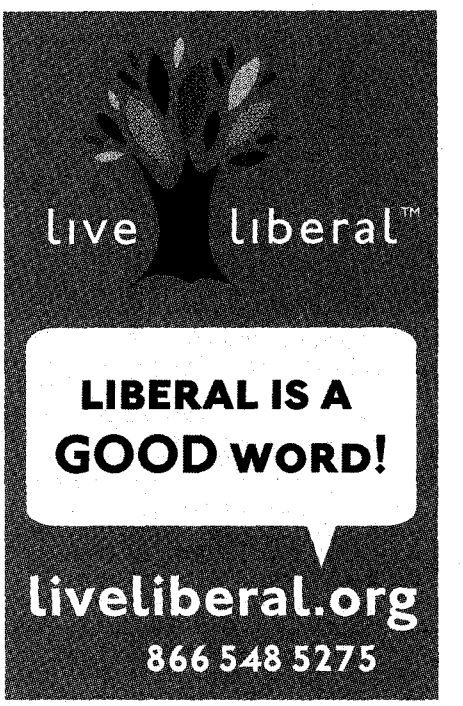
Politics and Science

■ How their interplay results in public policy. A social research conference in NYC, February 9–10. Scientists and policy-makers from across the political spectrum will assess the tension between politics and science and discuss how to increase the likelihood that the best science is the basis for future public policy. Information: www.socres.org. E-mail: socres@newschool.edu. Call: (212) 229-5776 x3121. Fax: (212) 229-5476.

Sex Trafficking Discussion

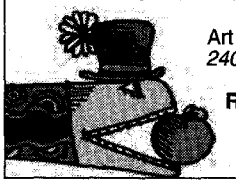
■ Friday, February 10, 11 AM to 1 PM, St. Francis College, 180 Remsen St., Brooklyn Heights. This panel discussion and open discussion will focus on the problem of sex trafficking as well the generalized problem of the globalized labor force. Panelists include Debbie Nathan of *The Nation*, Dorchen Leidholdt of the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, Suzanne Tomatore of the Immigrant Women & Children Project, Dr. Chris O'Sullivan of Safe Horizon and US Attorneys from the Eastern District. This event is free and open to the public. Reception to follow. For more information, contact Professor Emily Horowitz at ehorowitz@stfranciscollege.edu or (718) 489-5446.

The advertising deadline for Events is every Thursday. Rates: $200 for 50 words; $250 for 75 words, additional words (above 75) $2.00 each. To place an ad, call Leigh at (212) 209-5414.



New! ***Rhymes for the Irreverent***
by lyricist **Yip Harburg**
("Over the Rainbow," "Paper Moon," "April in Paris")

"We learn this after every war, That life is not worth dying for."



Art by Seymour Chwast
240-page hdbk. $20.00
Freedom From Religion Foundation
PO Box 750-N
Madison WI 53701
www.ffrf.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1199P
SEIU
PA's Health Care Union

Join the staff

of the largest and fastest-growing health care workers' union in Pennsylvania.

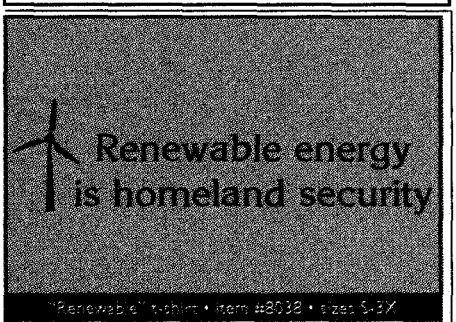
Currently seeking:

The Staff Coordinator is responsible for recruiting and retaining high quality staff for District 1199P.

The Political Program Coordinator is responsible for coordinating all of the District's political work.

The Administrative Organizer is responsible for representing workers that are covered by a contract. Experience in union organizing, union representation, and/or contract negotiations is required.

Send a cover letter, résumé and 3 references to campof@seiu1199p.org; FAX (717) 238-8354.



Products for Progressives since 1979.
Northern Sun Merchandising
T-shirts • Bumperstickers • Buttons • Custom Printing
to order, or for a free catalog • **800.258.8579 xIN**
www.northernsun.com

BOOM, boom, boom, BOOM, boom, boom.
The sound of an Indian drum introduces Bob Cole's Action Thriller, *THE WARRIOR*, a story of the anti-nuclear movement.
John Fooleman intends to build nuclear power plants all across the country. Spike Dumpster has no redeeming qualities. Jim Kawatcha is a pacifist American Indian. "I can not kill! I can not kill!" BUT HE HAS TO KILL, KILL, and KILL AGAIN! Barb is a preacher's daughter. "If GOD gave me such fine equipment, surely he intended for me to use it."

IF YOU READ NO OTHER BOOK THIS YEAR, YOU MUST READ *THE WARRIOR.*

ISBN 0-7414-231406
Infinity Publishing, www.buybooksontheweb.com, (877-287-2665) and at other book stores. $13.95

when sh happens, wipe it away!**

order your toilet paper at:
wipeyourtushwithbush.com

to pluck something "meaningful" from this bald historical record. Lurking beneath the narrative are reflections on truth and fiction, the parallel between the artist and the detective, the instability of facts and the sweated labor involved in distinguishing charlatanry from the genuine article. Perhaps what we see, as with spiritualism, is a shadowy symptom of some underlying world that is more real than the observable one; or perhaps what you see is what you get. In the end, the novel is more about epistemology than Edalji. Just as it mixes fiction and fact in its form, so it broods upon their vexed relation in content. Sherlock Holmes is an imaginary character often mistaken for an actual one. But the instability of truth is the merest cliché of postmodern art, and Barnes has little to add to it. There is indeed an "idea" in the book, to render it more than mere documentation, but it does not adequately inform its materials.

Still, there are some splendid local touches. When George is consigned to prison, he learns from a fellow inmate that Jews are sent to a special prison with a rather softer regime. The result is that it can be hard to distinguish between real Jews and "prison Jews," those who assumed Judaism to give themselves an easier ride behind bars. George is photographed by the prison authorities, told to grow a beard and photographed again, in case he escapes and grows one as a disguise. There is no doubt, either, that miscarriages of justice interest the British these days, after a series of infamous cases in which police lied through their teeth to put innocent men and women behind bars as supposed IRA bombers. One difference between the British and other Europeans is that the British used to trust their police and now do not, while their more sagacious Continental colleagues never did in the first place.

Toward the end of the novel, there is a lengthy, exquisitely nuanced, wonderfully subtle conversation between Doyle and a senior police officer, ranging in topic from race and religion to Oscar Wilde and the nature of moral guilt, which is testimony in itself to Barnes's extraordinary artistry. Yet Doyle's meteoric rise through the British Establishment, as a friend of the king, champion of the Empire and illustrious public figure, is more reported than dramatized. The spotlight shifts instead to his notoriously tangled love life, which this reviewer at least found less fascinating than his public involvements. Perhaps it is known as middle age. There is a great deal to be admired in this lucid, sophisticated narrative, but one can see why it didn't win the Man Booker Prize. ■

Classified

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation *wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

ACTIVISM

INVESTIGATE FOR YOURSELF! A great World Teacher is here with practical solutions to our most critical problems. Justice, reason and peace will prevail. Free CD, (888) 242-8272 share-international.org/nat.

JOIN (OR REJOIN) SDS! Send $5 for membership card to SDS, PO Box 7213, Ann Arbor, MI 48107. Go to nextleftnotes.org to find conference event schedules for spring and summer 2006. Personal stories and pictures needed. Help create the comic-format history of SDS. Contact: pbuhle@studentsforademocraticsociety.org.

THERE'S ALWAYS TOMORROW! www.sagacious-smartass.com.

ANCIENT SECRETS

PROOF JESUS FICTIONAL. Scholarly booklet conclusively proves Flavius Josephus (Romans) created fictional Jesus, authored gospels. Amazing but absolutely incontrovertible! $10: Abelard, Box 5652-A, Kent, WA 98064. (Details, SASE.)

APPAREL

talk back tees
Liberal quotations, aphorisms and wit on colorful, cotton tees. $10.99 each. talkbacktees.com (800) 777-9242

AUTHOR'S QUERY

RELIGIOUS WOMEN SPEAK UP! Author Leora Tanenbaum (*Oprah*, *Today*, *NPR*) wants to speak with women who love their religion but are dissatisfied with women's status within it. leoratan@yahoo.com. Box #237008, New York, NY 10023. www.leoratanenbaum.com.

BLOGS/WEB

POLITICALBOONDOGGLES.COM—Junior's conspiratorial lies, foibles and miscalculations satirized in rhymed verse and song parodies.

OUTSIDE THE BOX! Secular, spiritual blogs, books. Free download e-zine, e-book. Comments invited. www.karlroebling.com.

WANTED: THINKERS. Reliable website host and domain-name registrar seeks thinking customers. Learn more at www.pair.com.

BOOKS

BLUE EYED BLONDE is out! George Soros, Peter B. Lewis, Martha Stewart and Russell Simmons should love it. www.cafepress.com/manning and http://shermanmanning.blogspot.com.

UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS: *The Lewin family will donate hundreds* of copies of the internationally acclaimed political satire *Report From Iron Mountain: On the Possibility and Desirability of Peace* by Leonard C. Lewin. Reply Nation Box 416.

GRIFFIN'S HISTORICAL NOVEL, *Crucified by Pontius Pilate*, explains why Christian gospels absolve guilty Romans and blame innocent Jews for Jesus' crucifixion. (877) BUY-BOOKS, toll free.

COACHING

NEED HELP WITH SELF-DOUBT, STYLE, SUBSTANCE? Writing coach, manuscript evaluations. Bestselling novelist, journalist. Knopf, Farrar Straus, Houghton Mifflin, Esquire, Harper's Bazaar. Compassionate, seasoned teacher. info@elizabethbenedict.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified

COUNSELING

GURDJIEFF COUNSELING by phone. Life coaching—personal growth, expand emotional intelligence. Free consultation. (631) 375-5927.

COURT-MARTIAL ADVOCATE

WWW.COURTMARTIALLAWYER.COM.

HOLISTIC HEALING

Field & Feast
The Magazine of Food, Agriculture, & Health

JOIN US! $16/year. Field & Feast, Box 205, Four Lakes, WA 99014. www.fieldandfeast.net.

LIBERAL LIAISONS

Concerned Singles

Links singles concerned about peace, justice, race/gender equity, environment. Since 1984. Nationwide/international. All ages; straight/gay. Free sample: Box 444-NA, Lenox Dale, MA 01242; (413) 243-4350; www.concernedsingles.com.

GREENSINGLES.COM—Free photo ads for progressive singles in the environmental, vegetarian and animal rights communities. Searchable listings for friendship, dating, marriage. Since 1985. www.GreenSingles.com.

DEMOCRATICMATCH.COM. America's largest liberal dating service. One week free! Join with promotion code "Free Nation."

EROTIC ADULT PHONE CONVERSATION with sensual, intelligent women. Any topic welcome! VISA/MC/AMEX. Call (888) 495-8255.

FETISHES AND FANTASIES fulfilled. Hot erotic talk with creative, sensuous woman. No limits. Personal, confidential. Call (866) 844-8286.

SENSUAL, STYLISH PHONE CONVERSATIONS with intelligence, humor and élan. Unrestricted, guaranteed discretion. Alexis, (781) 581-9598.

TAWNY FORD. Exquisitely erotic conversation. Live, personal, unhurried. (248) 615-1300. Credit cards, prepay. www.tawnyford.com.

YOUR SECRET is our secret. www.Secretsphonesex.com, (800) 344-2019.

WASHINGTON, DC, PUBLIC-INTEREST LAWYER: Delightful, sophisticated, lively, petite blonde seeks romantic, unattached, accomplished NS man of integrity, 60+. Please reply to Nation Box 415.

ATTRACTIVE MANHATTAN WOMAN tall, slim, involved in art seeks cultured man 70 to early 80s. Reply Nation Box 417.

LIFE'S BETTER ZU ZWEIT. Attractive, delightful, DWF, smart, experienced, independent, flexible, confident, sensitive, sharing, progressive, seeking male kindred spirit, 55+. Mid-Atlantic. Picture appreciated. Reply Nation Box 418.

If responding to a Nation Box number, send replies to: Nation Box ___ , The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

MERCHANDISE

WEARETHEANTI-BUSH!™ tees,bumpers, gifts and more! www.UnemployedDemocrats.com.

IMPEACH BUSH FOR BLOOD STAINS NOT DRESS STAINS. Three-color bumper sticker. 3/$5. Bulk pricing. Gardenarium, PO Box 1252, Gig Harbor, WA 98335.

MERCHANDISE

FIGHT SOCIAL INSECURITY FIGHT SOCIAL INSECURITY FIGHT SOCIAL INSECURITY

SUPPORT *THE NATION* AND OUR NATION! Shop online at www.thenationmart.com and excercise subtle and not-so-subtle dissent. Most items are union-made. Great gifts!

MUSIC

KURT HENRY'S *LOVE'S ENOUGH*. World-rockin' expertly reformed tunes for romantic socialists. Steve Burgh, mandolin/electric guitar. www.kurthenry.com.

ORGANIZATIONS

HARTFORD, CT, *Nation* discussion group meets monthly on first Sunday at 2 PM. The Smith House, Trinity College. Next two meetings are February 5 and March 5. For more info, contact Suzi Smith, (860) 693-8549, suzismith@comcast.net.

POLICY

END THE DRUG WAR. See www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org, www.DrugWarFacts.org, www.DRCNet.org, www.MedicalMJ.org, www.DrugSense.org, www.AddictInTheFamily.org.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CENTER, a twenty-six-year-old policy studies center located in Silver City, New Mexico, is looking for a visionary Executive Director. See ad online at www.irc-online.org/jobs/ed.php.

***NATION* STUDENT OUTREACH:** Attention student activists! If you're involved in organizing a progressive event, lecture or film festival on your campus or in your community and would like to distribute copies of *The Nation*, please let us know by calling (212) 209-5416.

ORGANIZER/POLITICAL COORDINATOR needed in California for healthcare union. Experience leading organizers in campaigns. E-mail résumé: recruiter@seiu-uhw.org.

AIR AMERICA RADIO seeks ad salesperson for new business development with national progressive advertisers. Contact Air America at jobs@airamericaradio.com.

PSYCHOTHERAPY

DOWNTOWN NEW YORK. Creativity and its discontents. Artists, activists, academics and all. Robert McVey, CSW. (212) 330-7114.

PSYCHOTHERAPY

WOMAN CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGIST, twenty-five years' experience. Insight-oriented and analytic. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Mutually agreed-upon fees. Insurance accepted. Carnegie Hall vicinity. Margaret Kinder, PhD. (212) 582-5508.

CHICAGO PSYCHOTHERAPIST, twenty-two years, all issues including depression, anxiety, relationships, concerns of artists, academics and students. Sliding scale, insurance. Deborah Hellerstein, LCSW, (312) 409-9516.

LOS ANGELES PSYCHOLOGIST experienced in treating depression, anxiety, relationship issues, career malaise, addictive behaviors, trauma and crisis. WLA. Chet Wilson, PhD. (310) 840-6128.

SAN FRANCISCO PSYCHOTHERAPIST treats depression, relationship issues, anxiety, crises. Consultation available. Sliding scale. Paula Holt, LCSW, (415) 289-6990.

NEW YORK THERAPIST, twenty years' clinical and university-based experience. Separation and divorced parenting; divorced fathers. Individual, family and couples. Bill Dineen, LCSW. (917) 566-4785.

REAL ESTATE

SANTA FE. PROGRESSIVE REALTOR® seeks same in clients. Peter Kahn, Prudential Santa Fe (800) 418-1221 x171 or (505) 690-4840 mobile. pkahn@keshi.com.

METRO ATLANTA. Blue, British realtor available. David Richardson, Harry Norman Realtors. (404) 252-7222 x516, darichardson@bellsouth.net.

BLAINE NEWCOMB, REALTOR. Affordable homes, grant money, specializing in state and federal programs. Baltimore Metro. Re/Max Suburban West. (800) 866-7362. Cell: (443) 829-6277. www.homesdatabase.com/listingsfortoday.

SILICON VALLEY, SAN FRANCISCO AGENT. Progressive and sensitive. Service for relocators, buyers and sellers. Gregory Lyle Gajus, (408) 644-7924 or ggajus@c21ruby.com.

LOS ANGELES, RICHARD LAMARTINE, LOAN OFFICER. Best loan and rate for you. rlamartine@buildingcapital.com. (310) 559-1445.

BERKELEY, CA. Work with the realtor who's on your side. Norma J.F. Harrison. (510) 526-3968, (866) 264-9029. NormaHa@pacbell.net.

CHICAGO: Progressive real estate broker strives for virtuous realty. Veva Silva, (773) 562-3376. Vevasilva@hotmail.com.

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates and Frequency Discounts: STANDARD $3.90/word, 15-word minimum = $56.25 for 1–3 insertions; PO Box, telephone numbers, web address count as two words.

Buy 4–9 runs, pay $3.65 per word
Buy 10–23 runs, pay $3.50 per word
Buy 24–46 runs, pay $3.00 per word
Buy 47 runs, pay $2.50 per word

Logos: We will print your logo and center the headline of your advertisement for an additional fee of $50/insertion B/W; $60 for color. Maximum size for a logo is 2 1/4" wide by 1/2" deep. EPS logo should accompany ad copy and payment.

Deadline: Tuesday, 3 PM, 10 days prior to Monday issue date.

Payment in US currency or major credit card must accompany order.

Enclosed is my check for $ _____ for _____ insertions at $ _____ / word rate.

"Personals" advertisers: Be sure to include $45 for Nation Box number/forwarding service.

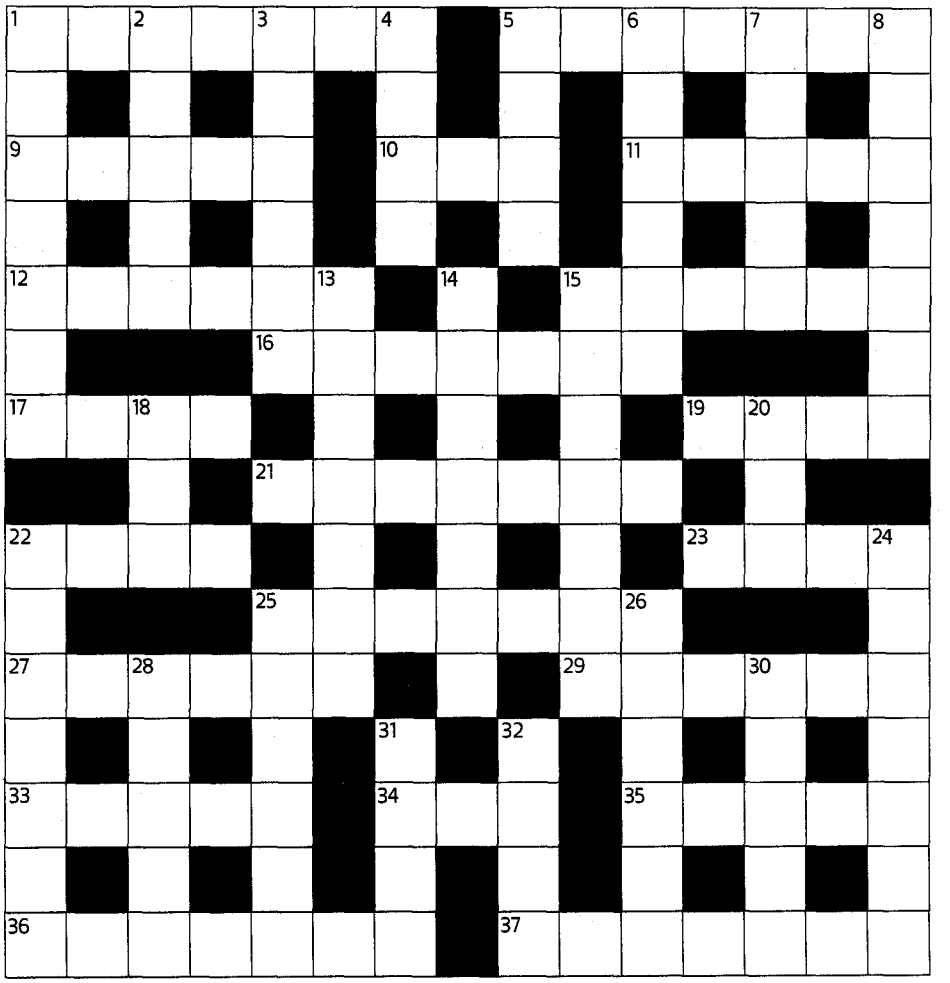
For all ads please include your name, address and contact phone number with your ad. You can fax your classifieds to us at (212) 982-9000 or e-mail leigh@thenation.com.

E-mail preferred. Attach ad, typewritten if possible.
The Nation, Classified Department, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUZZLE NO. 3022

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 You can make the lid come out of it, as good air should be. (7)

5 What crabs are supposed to do in the coal bucket. (7)

9, 10 and **11** The truth is expected to be put down in it, being biracial. (5,3,5)

12 A gnat expects to find a relative synonym at first. (6)

15 The special approaches made by West German people. (6)

16 Sort of stand around or, as they say in Paris, amaze everyone…(7)

17 and **31** down…but doesn't stand for this! (4,4)

19 See 4 down

21 Two animals that furnish a covering. (7)

22 Time to change what you might see in the papers. (4)

23 Possibly lied about the wheel that doesn't work? (4)

25 Where one might skate on thin ice, in a new year in 'Nam, which is a bauble. (7)

27 Equal to the old song, perhaps, to put one's "take" on the next event. (6)

29 and **34** What some people wait to see on TV, being an exceptionally wise old bird! (9)

33 A foolish person I would still find to one's liking. (5)

34 See 29

35 Eve's opposite is confused to a point by things that seem to just meet expectations. (5)

36 Camera man, as meant for some change. (7)

37 Make a picture of the light on the left side? (7)

DOWN

1 Headgear for revolutionaries? (7)

2, 18 and **28** A Girl Scout has to do this to earn her badge. (5,3,5)

3 It's all right—put it up in the information supply, being found in one of two possible states. (6)

4 and **19** across The guy who has assumed the horizontal position in church? (8)

5 and **32** A team to make a slight error when the plane comes down to do it. (4-4)

6 One might take it easy to do it to pull the string away. (6)

7, 20 and **30** Implying the judge made a mistake in a fumbling procedure? (5,3,5)

8 A mere output with the offspring, but his output was literary. (7)

13 Yes, a rut is bad, but it makes an arm very wet. (7)

14 A casual shopper might be just this! (7)

15 You'll find the workers around are associated with Scorpius. (7)

18 See 2

20 See 7

22 An admission that you're out of date, when it comes to a roadblock. (7)

24 By me, when it's wrong it has a stupid person in the US overseas office! (7)

25 Went two by two, and met with some difficulty. (6)

26 The painter flipped, obviously! (6)

28 See 2

30 See 7

31 See 17 across

32 See 5

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3021

A	S	C	R	I	B	E		N	A	M	E	T	A	G
L		H		L		V		A		O		R		A
L	A	I	C	I	Z	E		I	M	P	O	U	N	D
O		N		A		R		V		E		N		S
W	I	N	E	D		T	H	E		D	I	N	E	D
E		E				E		T				E		E
D	E	D	U	C	E	D		E	C	H	E	L	O	N
				A						A				
G	R	E	A	T	E	R		C	R	Y	P	T	I	C
E		X				E		U				O		O
S	U	P	E	R		F	O	R		T	R	E	S	S
T		O		A		I		L		U		N		I
A	L	S	O	R	A	N		I	N	D	R	A	W	N
P		E		E		E		N		O		I		E
O	R	D	E	R	E	D		G	A	R	B	L	E	S

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our lowest price ever...$49.95 plus FREE new and improved Bulbs for Life†*

A floor lamp that spreads sunshine all over a room, and pays for itself!

CALL TODAY TO RECEIVE FREE BULBS FOR LIFE† AND FREE SHIPPING††

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp combines the benefits of natural daylight indoors with a savings of $77 over the life of one bulb!**

Ever since the first human went into a dark cave and built a fire, people have realized the importance of proper indoor lighting. Unfortunately, since Edison invented the light bulb, lighting technology has remained relatively prehistoric. Modern light fixtures do little to combat many symptoms of improper lighting, such as eyestrain, dryness or burning. As more and more of us spend longer hours in front of a computer monitor, the results are compounded...and the effects of indoor lighting are not necessarily limited to physical well-being. Many people believe that the quantity and quality of light can play a part in one's mood and work performance. Now there's a better way to bring the positive benefits of natural sunlight indoors.

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces. Studies show that sunshine can lift your mood and your energy levels. But as we all know, the sun, unfortunately, does not always shine. So, to bring the benefits of natural daylight indoors, use the floor lamp that simulates the full spectrum of daylight. You will see with more clarity and enjoyment as this lamp provides sharp visibility for close tasks and reduces eyestrain.

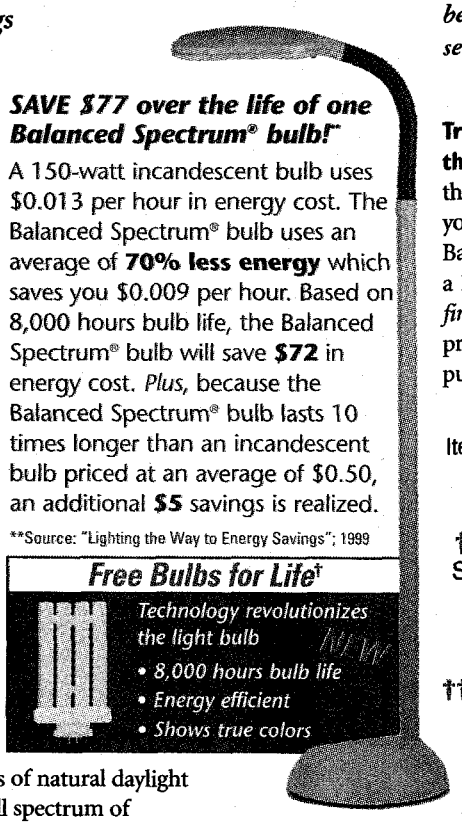
Its 27-watt compact bulb is the equivalent to a 150-watt ordinary light bulb. This makes it perfect for activities such as reading, writing, sewing, needlepoint, and especially for aging eyes.

We've looked at lots of lights, but this one offers the benefit of dual light levels of 27 and 18 watts of power, equivalent to 150-and 100-watt incandescent bulbs. This lamp has a flexible gooseneck design for maximum efficiency, with an "Instant On" switch that is flicker-free. The high-tech electronics, user-friendly design, and bulb that lasts 10 times longer than an ordinary bulb make this lamp a must-have.

*SAVE $77 over the life of one Balanced Spectrum® bulb!***

A 150-watt incandescent bulb uses $0.013 per hour in energy cost. The Balanced Spectrum® bulb uses an average of **70% less energy** which saves you $0.009 per hour. Based on 8,000 hours bulb life, the Balanced Spectrum® bulb will save **$72** in energy cost. *Plus,* because the Balanced Spectrum® bulb lasts 10 times longer than an incandescent bulb priced at an average of $0.50, an additional **$5** savings is realized.

**Source: "Lighting the Way to Energy Savings"; 1999



Height as shown: 50"

"As soon as I turned on the lamp and began to read the newspaper I could see the wonderful difference."

Donna E.
Scranton, PA

Try the Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp for the best value ever! Now more than ever is the time to add sunshine to every room in your home at this fantastic low price! The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp comes with a 1-year manufacturer's limited warranty and *first*STREET's exclusive guarantee. Try this product for 90 days and return it for the product purchase price if not completely satisfied.

Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp

Item# BS-3589 ..... was ~~$59.95~~

*Save $10 with mail-in rebate

Only $49.95 ea + S&H after rebate

††FREE Bulbs for Life. Order one Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp; if it ever needs a new bulb, we'll send you a free bulb valued at $24.95, and ALL you pay is S&H.

- or -

††Order two Balanced Spectrum® floor lamps and get FREE Bulbs for Life† plus FREE shipping on both lamps.

††Free shipping within the contiguous 48 states Only.

Please mention promotional code 30999.

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day

888-933-6684

To order by mail, please call for details

www.balancedspectrum.com

*first*STREET®
SEE IT HERE FIRST
Formerly TechnoScout®
1998 Ruffin Mill Road • Colonial Heights, VA 23834

All rights reserved. © 2005 *first*STREET®, Inc.

40784

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRESENTING THE BOSE® WAVE® MUSIC SYSTEM

Acclaimed Bose® sound.

Now available with an optional Multi-CD Changer.

When we introduced the Bose® Wave® music system, *Forbes FYI* said: "Turn it up, close your eyes and you'll think you're listening to a...system that costs five times more." The premium sound sets a new standard for what you can expect from an all-in-one system that fits on a shelf or countertop. And now, our new Multi-CD Changer lets you enjoy your music for hours on end.

Simply slide one CD or MP3 CD into the system's front slot and three more into the changer on the bottom. They work as one. And with a total height of just 6½ inches, this highly reviewed music system can deliver sound anywhere you want – living room, kitchen, bedroom or office.

Press play. And enjoy. The Multi-CD Changer was designed exclusively for the Wave® music system, and the system's credit card-style remote conveniently operates every feature. And the sound? Just compare it to larger, more expensive stereos. You may find that although much smaller, the Wave® music system sounds more realistic.

Stephen Williams, *Newsday*
"...rich, fulsome sound and extraordinary timbre."

Wayne Thompson, *Oregonian*
"...one-of-a-kind...my choice for product of the year."

Rich Warren, *News-Gazette*
"...the Wave Music System will flat out seduce you."

Dick DeBartolo, the Gizmo Guy
"You will be wildly impressed!"

"...an extraordinary performer." That's what Jonathan Takiff of the *Philadelphia Daily News* says of the Wave® music system. The low notes are even deeper than those of the original award-winning Wave® radio/CD, giving instruments a more natural presence. Your music is clearer and better defined. It also has an FM/AM digital tuner, clock, alarm and many other useful features. After using the system, David Novak, the Gadget Guy, concluded: "It can easily replace whatever component system you currently have."

The Wave® music system shown in Graphite Gray.

You have 30 days to listen, risk free. Use our Excitement Guarantee to experience the Wave® music system and its optional Multi-CD Changer in your own home risk free for 30 days. When you call, ask about making **12 easy payments,** with no interest charges from Bose.* Order now and receive your choice of a Menus and Music™ cookbook and music CD gift box set. Each choice – *Dining at Great American Lodges, Italian Intermezzo* and *French Bistro* – includes a full-color, 200-page cookbook and inspiring music CD.

To order or learn more, call today

1-800-400-3416, ext. TH463

Discover all our innovative products at

www.bose.com/th463

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

*Bose payment plan available on orders of $349-$1500 paid by major credit card. Down payment is 1/12 the product price plus tax and shipping charges. Then, your credit card will be billed for 11 equal monthly installments with 0% APR and no interest charges from Bose. Credit card rules and interest may apply. U.S. residents only. Limit one active financing program per customer. ©2006 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. The distinctive design is also a registered trademark of Bose Corporation. Financing and Menus and Music™ gift set offer not to be combined with other offers or applied to previous purchases, and subject to change without notice. If Wave® music system is returned, Menus and Music gift set must be returned for a full refund. Risk free refers to 30-day trial only and does not include return shipping. Delivery is subject to product availability. Quotes are reprinted with permission: Thomas Jackson, *Forbes FYI*, Winter 2004; Dick DeBartolo, *GizWizBiz.com*, 8/13/04.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED